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ABSTRACT

The spring issue focuses on the evolution in the education of language minority students. Rosalie Pedalino Porter's article, "On the State of Bilingual Education 1990-1995: 'Forked Tongue' Continued," highlights the advances made by local school districts where students are being introduced to academic content learning in English at a younger age and where principles of effective instruction are being incorporated into models of bilingual education. Shereen Arraf's article, "The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program of the Dearborn Schools, Michigan: A Model for Systematic Change and Integration of Services," depicts the grass roots movement in Michigan to demand and implement substantial reforms for more flexible and creative math, science, reading, and bilingual programs by pooling Title 1 and bilingual education resources. The fall issue's two articles feature two studies of central importance in the consideration of language education policy in the United States. An article by Barry Chiswick and Paul Miller, "The Languages of the United States: What Is Spoken and What It Means," analyzes the ways in which fluency in the common language of a country affects economic success. A descriptive report by Scott Baker, "Getting It Right: The Seattle School District Program for Limited-English Proficient Students," highlights a successful urban program in a school district with a very high enrollment of limited-English-proficient students. Extensive charts, tables, and empirical data are included. (Contains 72 references.) (KFT)

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Read Perspectives

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Ed.
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– *Shereen Arraf, Ph.D.*

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- "A Critique of California's Evaluation of Programs for Students of Limited-English Proficiency" - Robert E. Rossier

- "Toward an Understanding of Effective Instructional Practices for Language Minority Students: Findings from a Naturalistic Research Study" - Russell Gersten, Thomas J. Keating, and Susan Unok Brengelman

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- "Findings of the New York City Longitudinal Study: Hard Evidence on Bilingual and ESL Programs" - Barbara Mujica

- "The Cost of Bilingual Education in the U. S.: A Review of the ALEC Report" - Marsha Youngblood

- "The Bethlehem, PA, School District's English Acquisition Program: A Blueprint for Change" - Judith Simons-Turner, Mark Connelly, and Ann Goldberg

UPCOMING IN READ PERSPECTIVES:

Vol. III, No. 2 (Fall 1996):

- A research study on language and upward mobility for immigrants in the U. S. - Dr. Barry R. Chiswick, University of Illinois at Chicago, and Prof. Paul W. Miller, University of Western Australia

- A review of the exemplary Seattle Public Schools programs for 6,000 limited-English students from 90 different language backgrounds - Prof. Scott Baker, University of Oregon

Vol. IV, No. 1 (Spring 1997):

- An extensive analysis of the Collier-Thomas research studies on rate of second language learning in U. S. programs - Prof. Russell Gersten, University of Oregon

- An update on the achievements of students in the Bethlehem, PA, Public School English Acquisition Program - Prof. Judith Simons, St. Joseph's University

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INTRODUCTION

The field of education of language minority students is undergoing a sea change unlike anything we have seen before. In this issue of *READ Perspectives,* Rosalie Pedalino Porter and Shereen Arraf describe in great detail many aspects of this evolution, including these innovations:

- Increased parental involvement in choosing the type of bilingual education/English-as-a-second language program in which their children are enrolled
- A movement towards the inclusion of language minority students in major education initiatives and in statewide and national assessments, and a consequent sense of accountability to ensure that learning takes place
- The spread of locally-developed initiatives and programs that use a range of techniques and methodologies, and the talents of educators in the district, to develop coherent programs for students
- Increased realization that bilingual education and ESL instruction are not limited to the needs of Spanish-speaking students but must serve students who speak many different languages (e.g., Arabic, Serbo-Croatian, Russian, Cambodian)
- Increased collaboration between bilingual education, Title 1 services, and other district programs
- Increased concern with what students actually learn and with what truly engages teachers in terms of professional development.

Rosalie Pedalino Porter's "On the State of Bilingual Education 1990-95: *Forked Tongue* Continued" provides a comprehensive overview of these profound changes. In her review of recent research, she highlights the exciting advances made by local school districts where students are being introduced to academic content learning in English at a younger age and where principles of effective instruction are being incorporated into models of bilingual education. In the case of El Paso, for example, such advances result in a much more rapid integration of students into mainstream classrooms than occurs in more traditional approaches. Increasingly, researchers are finding that English language growth accelerates when students with some English language proficiency spend time with fluent English speakers, as is demonstrated by the El Paso and Seattle programs described by Porter.

Porter also addresses a current problem that has reached epidemic proportions in this country: exemption of students who are English language learners from state, local and/or national assessments. It is often the case that the longer a student is labelled as LEP, the longer she or he is exempted from assessment, and the longer the district has no accountability. Porter makes a persuasive case for inclusion of students who are English language learners in national and state assessments. As she indicates, by exempting English language learners from assessments until they are highly proficient in English, districts may exempt them for periods of up to seven years, thereby avoiding all accountability. Finding a solution to this problem is a current focal point of the governing board of the National Assessment of Academic Progress.

Perhaps the most passionate section of the article is the analysis of local movements by parents to fight for high quality programs that are truly bilingual, not merely classes conducted in Spanish. For instance, Porter describes the work of Las Familias in Los Angeles, an advocacy group that works with parents to help the school district address their needs and concerns. As chronicled in a recent (1/16/96) front-page feature in the Los Angeles Times, parents have forced the school to link English-language instruction with content-area instruction, beginning in the primary grades. As Porter points out, delaying this process until the fourth grade may simply come too late for many students, and she cites research indicating that there is no reason for such a lengthy delay.

Another fascinating aspect of Porter's article is her analysis of the SAIP study conducted by William Tikunoff, Tamra Lucas and associates, and described in a recent issue of READ Perspectives. The study is distinctive in that the researchers documented effective teaching practices as opposed to evaluating a specific instructional approach. In other words, they looked for approaches and techniques that could be used by teachers irrespective of the particular curriculum or district policy. Guidelines from this study can be used for professional development activities for teachers of English language learners, regardless of the native language of the students or of specific idiosyncrasies of a district's curriculum.

What Porter calls the "grass roots movement" is depicted in the second piece, Shereen Arraf's "The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program of the Dearborn Schools, Michigan: A Model for Systemic Change and Integration of Services." The striking features of the Dearborn program are its merger of Title 1 and bilingual education resources, its flexibility and creativity, and its commitment to ongoing professional development. It appears that in Dearborn, English language learners (most of whom come from Arabic-speaking homes) are often the first to benefit from reforms in math, science, and reading comprehension instruction. Arraf shows how bilingual/ESL education is not merely a function of individual classrooms but rather a product of collaboration among teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, and parents.

The unique approach to teaching LEP students in the Dearborn school district serves as one of the new models now available to other schools across the nation which are beginning to realize the shortcomings of the traditional bilingual classroom. Arraf and Porter, in describing these recent successes, and longstanding failures, do a real service to all educators faced with an increasingly diverse student population. Certainly they, and their future pupils, will benefit greatly from this present work.

Russell Gersten, Ph.D.
University of Oregon

ON THE STATE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION 1990-95: *FORKED TONGUE* CONTINUED

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Ed.D.

The issues raised and discussed at the time when *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education* (1990) was first published have not been resolved, but substantial change is evident. In preparing new material for the second edition of *Forked Tongue*, to be published by Transaction Publishers at Rutgers University in May 1996, I have brought together information that is not easily accessible anywhere else in the country. It is the sum total of five years of advocating, consulting, speaking, writing, and agitating to improve the education of language minority children, a comprehensive report that I am in a unique position to provide.

In reviewing the contents of the original *Forked Tongue*, I decided that the most useful information to give readers is an extended description of recent developments in these particular areas: national research on effective programs for language minority students, changing demographics, program costs; substantially revised approaches to the education of limited-English students by a representative sampling of school districts; legislative initiatives to reform bilingual education laws at the federal and state level; the movement to make English the official language of the U.S. In conclusion I offer my personal reflections on the future of bilingual education.

The efforts being made, both financially and pedagogically, to help immigrant, migrant, and refugee school children who do not know the English language when they enter U.S. schools are still, in my view, largely misguided. The current population of limited-English students is being treated in ways that earlier immigrant groups were not. The politically righteous assumption that these students cannot learn the English language quickly and therefore must be taught all academic subjects in their native language for three to seven years still prevails. Twenty-eight years of classroom experience with this education policy and a growing body of research show little or no benefit for native language teaching in better learning either of English or of other subjects. These facts, however, have hardly dented the armor of the true believers in the bilingual education bureaucracy.

Yet some changes and improvements have occurred in this most contentious area of public education. *Forked Tongue*, in fact, has played some small part in promoting positive changes in the education of limited-English students in dozens of school districts across the country: by supporting the efforts to modify bilingual education laws in several states; by heightening the public awareness of the ineffective education policies and programs for these students; and, most important of all, by giving courage to hundreds of teachers in U.S. public schools who daily see the failure of bilingual programs. Research reports contribute additional evidence regarding the poor results of native language instruction as the superior road to English language competency for classroom work. But successful results from programs emphasizing intensive English are beginning to appear, now that some small measure of funding is being allocated to these so-called "alternative model programs."

What *Forked Tongue* has not succeeded in doing is improving the character and tone of the public dialogue. All too often, it remains almost impossible to voice criticism of bilingual education programs without being pilloried as a hater of foreigners and foreign languages and for contributing to the anti-immigrant climate. Additionally, little positive change has occurred in the past few years in reducing the established power of state education departments to impose education mandates on local school districts. The power of the bilingual education bureaucracy has hardly diminished, even in states like California where the state bilingual education law expired in 1987. However, the idea that native language programs are the single best solution for limited-English students is now being challenged, and this opposition is growing and gaining strength at the local school level.

UPDATING THE RESEARCH

The basic questions posed in the early years of bilingual education still have not found clear-cut answers. Are there measurable benefits for limited-English students when they are taught in their native language for a period of time, both in their learning of the English language for academic achievement and in their mastery of school subjects? Has a clear advantage emerged for a particular pedagogy among the best known models--transitional bilingual education, English as a Second Language, structured immersion, two-way, dual immersion, or developmental bilingual programs? There is no more consensus on the answers to these questions than there was five years ago. However, there is growing evidence of an almost total lack of accountability in states which have invested most heavily in bilingual education for the past fifteen or twenty years and have not collected data or evaluated programs to produce answers to the questions raised above. The major reports that have been published in recent years include such evidence. Some of the following studies were examined at length in earlier issues of READ Perspectives but are worth summarizing at this time in order to give a comprehensive review of the research of the past five years.

The GAO Study

Since the late 1970s, the annual school enrollment of limited-English students has increased at a faster rate than the rest of the school population. The costs of special programs for these students nationwide are beginning to be tallied: in January 1994, the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) published *Limited-English Proficiency: A Growing and Costly Educational Challenge Facing Many School Districts* at the request of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. The GAO study provides an overview of the serious problems confronting U.S. public schools in meeting the needs of limited-English students, new demographics on where these students are concentrated, and a detailed description of five representative school districts with rapidly growing LEP populations.

Table 1.
Limited-English Proficient (LEP) Students in Five Districts and Their Proportion of the Total Enrollment, 1982-1992

District	Total Enrollment		LEP Enrollment				Number of Languages 1992**
	1982	1992	1982	%*	1992	%*	
A	193,701	197,413	24,021	12.40%	39,569	20.0%	7***
B	12,963	11,998	1,256	9.90	1,427	11.8	12
C	46,752	73,647	3,092	6.60	20,937	28.4	88
D	24,565	28,739	4,395	17.80	7,108	24.7	57
E	57,498	74,084	7,815	13.50	24,093	32.5	37

* Percentage of the total enrollment

** Number of languages present in 1982 was not available for the most part

*** District A reported 60 additional languages but documents specifying those languages were not available. They reported 94% of LEP students as Spanish speakers and 2400 students speaking other languages.

Prepared by R. P. Porter from data in GAO report.

(Reprinted from READ Perspectives, Spring 1995, Vol. II-1)

Briefly, the GAO report highlights those problems in the five districts which are common to all public schools with LEP students:

- immigrant students are almost 100% non-English speaking on arrival in the U.S.
- arrival of LEP students occurs at different times during the school year, which causes upheavals in classrooms and educational programs
- some high school students have not been schooled in their native lands and lack literacy skills in any language
- there is a high level of family poverty and transiency and a low level of parental involvement in students' education
- there are acute shortages of bilingual teachers, textbooks and assessment instruments in the native languages

The information gathered by the GAO study is valuable to educators, researchers and policy makers. An alarming fact reported in this study is mentioned only in passing and never explained: immigrant children account for only 43% of the limited-English students in our schools. Who, then, make up the remaining 57% and why are such large numbers of native-born children classified as limited- or non-English proficient and placed in native language instruction programs? In a private conversation with one of the GAO regional managers I was unable to get an explanation for the high percentage of native-born students classified as limited-English. I was told that the GAO had not found an agreed upon definition of what a "limited-English person" is and that children who speak English but may not read and write it well enough for school work are included in this category. In that case, a large number of students surely must be enrolled in the wrong programs, being taught in another language rather than receiving remedial help in reading and writing in English.

Curiously, the GAO study does not provide any data on the costs of different types of bilingual education programs even though "cost" is part of the study's title. However, a report on costs and other issues of bilingual education in the United States was prepared by the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) as a special supplement to its publication, *The Report Card on American Education 1994.*

The ALEC Study: Bilingual Education in the United States, 1991-92

The ALEC Study makes a bold attempt to unravel the mysteries of exactly how many students are served by special programs that aim to remove the language barrier to an equal education, what kinds of programs they are enrolled in, where these students are concentrated (by state), and how much is actually being spent in this special effort. As a former school administrator, I know that it is quite possible to account for special costs: in the Newton, Massachusetts, Public Schools annual budget there is an account for bilingual/ESL programs that covers all the costs incurred for the LEP students including teachers, teacher aides, books, materials, transportation, and administration. The amount of money spent each year in Newton, over and above the school costs for general education, averaged about $1,000 per LEP student. Not all school districts keep such information and it is not collected consistently by all state education departments because this is not required by the federal government.

Analyzing data from the National Center for Education Statistics, the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), and various other federal and state sources, the ALEC study synthesizes the data to arrive at these conclusions for the 1991-92 school year:

- on average, all federal funding for education amounts to 6%; state and local sources provide roughly 47% each

- federal funding for bilingual education, $101 million in 1991 and $116 million in 1992, was allocated primarily to native language instruction programs, giving only 20-30% to ESL programs

- 2.3 million limited-English students were enrolled in U.S. public schools while only 1.9 million were enrolled in any special language program, leaving 450,000 LEP students without any special language help

- of the 1.9 million students in special programs, 60% were enrolled in bilingual, 22% in ESL and 18% in a category labelled "unknown," because states could not describe their special language programs

- candidly explaining the difficulties of collecting strictly accurate data, the costs of programs for LEP students were estimated to be $5.5 billion (56%) for bilingual programs; $1.9 billion (20%) for ESL, and $2.4 billion (24%) for unknown programs, totaling $9.9 billion for 1991-92

- projecting the same recent increases in enrollments, spending on special language programs would amount to $12 billion in 1993. (4-5)

The ALEC study draws some tenable conclusions from the data summarized above, while it admits that the approximate cost figures may be an over- or underestimation of what is actually spent. Both federal and state agencies do give preference to native language instruction programs over ESL in funding decisions by a wide margin, even though "there is no conclusive research that demonstrates the educational superiority of bilingual education over ESL." (3) Even if the ALEC cost estimates were overestimated, this is only one of several recent reports that point out the widespread lack of accountability in bilingual education. Twenty-seven years of heavy investment in mainly bilingual programs have not produced exact data on how much these programs cost or how successful they are in realizing their goals in student achievement.

The cost to adult immigrants of not being fluent in the dominant language has been reported by economists Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller. In a 1995 study, they analyzed the differences in human capital earnings in some of the largest immigrant receiving countries, between immigrants who have acquired dominant language fluency and those who have not. Earnings for immigrants with English-language skills were 8.3% higher in Australia, 16.9% in the U.S., and 12.2% higher in Canada. (Chiswick, 279) They also defined the factors that contribute to the development of fluency in the new language: exposure to the language, efficiency in second language acquisition (related to level of schooling and age), and perceived economic benefits from language fluency. (Chiswick, 246) These elements are comparable to the factors contributing to successful second language learning and school achievement for LEP students: sufficient exposure to the target language, sufficient schooling in the new language, and an understanding of the benefits of second language acquisition for school success and complete integration with English-speaking, mainstream students. The research has yet to be done on differences in earnings for immigrant/migrant/refugee children schooled in the U.S. who do not acquire English-language proficiency as a result of their long years in bilingual classrooms.

Although cost should not be the determining factor in deciding on special language programs for LEP students, analyses of cost benefits inevitably do affect decision making on educational policy. Some recent studies comparing native language instruction programs with intensive English language assistance provide indirect cost comparisons from the oblique angle of student achievement. In both the El Paso and New York City longitudinal studies, described below, students in the English language, structured immersion programs met program goals in 3-4 years and were then assigned to regular classrooms without special help, while students in the traditional bilingual classrooms needed 6-7 years to reach the same level of skills for mainstreaming. Although neither study set out to study costs, it becomes obvious that the expense of giving large numbers of students extra services for 2-4 additional years is formidable.

The El Paso Bilingual Immersion Project

The first three years' outcomes in the El Paso experiment with English language immersion were reported in the first edition of *Forked Tongue* (68-69); however, the final results of this crucial seven-year study were not analyzed until a few years later. In 1992, the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ) published a monograph, by Russell Gersten, John Woodward and Susan Schneider, on the longitudinal study of the El Paso Bilingual Immersion Project. Gersten and Woodward published a later analysis of the El Paso project in *The Elementary School Journal* in 1995. Evaluation of the El Paso results in the performance of Spanish-speaking, limited-English students clearly demonstrates advantages for the immersion approach over the transitional bilingual education (TBE) model:

- The Iowa Test of Basic Skills (in English) results for grades 4 and 5 do show superior performance in all academic areas for students in the immersion program over students in the transitional bilingual program (1995, 236)

- by grade 6, 99% of immersion students were mainstreamed; at the end of 7th grade, 35% of TBE students were still in the bilingual program (1995, 232)

- well designed bilingual immersion leads to more rapid, more successful, and increased integration of Latino students into the mainstream, with no detrimental effects in any area of achievement for students who took part in this program. The increased integration may lead to a decrease in high school dropout rates among Hispanic students. Subsequent research is needed to explore the possibility of this effect of immersion programs (1992, 31)

- major strengths of the bilingual immersion program are its use of contemporary thinking on language acquisition and literacy development and its relatively stress-free approach to the rapid learning of English in the primary grades (1992, 31)

- teacher questionnaires revealed much greater satisfaction with the early, systematic teaching of English in the immersion program than with the slow introduction of English in the bilingual program (1992, 30)

- student interviews indicated no significant differences in reactions to the two programs. There was no evidence, from students, parents or teachers, that native language teaching produces a higher level of self-esteem or that early immersion in a second language is more stressful, two of the common beliefs promoted by bilingual education advocates. (1992, 30-31)

Research such as that conducted in El Paso is invaluable in the ongoing debate on program effectiveness. Because the comparison was made between two radically different teaching methods in the same school district with the same population of limited-English students, this study provides incontrovertible proof of the benefits to students of early second language learning. More recently, the New York City public schools published a report that threw a metaphorical grenade into the bilingual education camp.

The New York Study

Educational Progress of Students in Bilingual and ESL Programs: A Longitudinal Study, 1990-1994, was published in October 1994 by the Board of Education of the City of New York. New York City invested $300 million in 1993 in bilingual programs where the instruction was given in Spanish, Chinese, Haitian Creole, Russian, Korean, Vietnamese, French, Greek, Arabic and Bengali--an investment that was not only misguided but apparently harmful to the student beneficiaries, as the results of the longitudinal study reveal. (NY Times, 1)

The New York City study is important because, like the El Paso study, it examines student achievement in basically different programs in large, urban school districts, and it charts student progress over a period of years. The criteria by which student success was measured included the number of years served in a special language program before exiting to a mainstream classroom, reading levels achieved in English, and performance in math. The two groups of limited-English students whose achievement was monitored were (1) speakers of Spanish or of Haitian Creole who were enrolled in bilingual classrooms where they received mostly native language instruction in reading, writing and school subjects, with brief English language lessons, and (2) students from Russian, Korean and Chinese language backgrounds who were placed in ESL classes where all instruction is provided through a special English language curriculum. Total enrollment of students in the study:

11,320 entered Kindergarten in fall 1990
2,053 " 1st grade " " "
841 " 2nd. " " "
797 " 3rd. " " "
754 " 6th " " "
1,366 " 9th " " " (NY Study, ix)

As any disinterested observer might have anticipated, there is strong evidence showing that the earlier a second language is introduced, the more rapidly it is learned for academic purposes. Such evidence flies in the face of the received wisdom of

Jim Cummins' theories that were developed to justify bilingual education, after the fact--the facilitation theory and the threshold hypothesis (Chapter 3 of *Forked Tongue*). With appropriate teaching, children can learn a new language quickly and can learn subject matter taught in that language. Reading and writing skills can be mastered and math can be learned successfully in a second language, as thousands of New York City school children have demonstrated.

The most riveting revelation of this research is the reported fact that, "At all grade levels, students served in ESL-only programs exited their programs faster than those served in bilingual programs." (NY Study, ii) For students who entered school in grades kindergarten, 2 and 6, the three-year exit rates were as follows:

	Exit Rate ESL-only	Exit Rate Bilingual
Kindergarten	79.3%	51.5%
Grade 2	67.5%	22.1%
Grade 6	32.7%	6.9% (NY Study, ii)

The three-year exit rates for LEP students who entered kindergarten from different language groups, whether they were in ESL or bilingual programs were reported as follows:

- 91.8% for Korean
- 87.4% for Russian
- 82.6% for Chinese
- 58.7% for Haitian Creole
- 50.6% for Spanish (NY Study, ix)

Differences among language groups remained steady even for students entering the New York schools in the higher grades. Critics of the study, including Luis O. Reyes of the New York City School Board, allege that Korean, Russian and Chinese background students are from middle class families and that the social class difference invalidates the study. (Krashen, 1995) Socioeconomic data is not reported in the study. Since we do not know how many of the children in any of the language groups are from poor, working class, or middle class families, we should not make unwarranted assumptions. One could reasonably assume, however, that most immigrant, migrant, and refugee children attending the New York City Public Schools do not come from affluent families. The undeniable fact is that children from Spanish and Haitian Creole speaking families are generally funneled into bilingual classrooms while children from other language groups are assigned to ESL classrooms. I firmly believe that the type of schooling these children receive makes a large difference in their ability to achieve at their own personal capacity. I believe, even more firmly, that Haitian and Latino children would succeed in mastering English language skills better and faster and, therefore, join their English-speaking peers in mainstream classes much sooner than is now the case if they were given the same opportunity given to Russian, Korean and Chinese students.

Exiting the special program classrooms more expeditiously is not only a cost consideration but a matter of integration and opportunity. Remaining in substantially segregated bilingual classrooms for several years does not equip students to compete in the broader life of the school and community--in fact it has the opposite effect. The New York Study reports the highest success in school achievement for students who were in the special language programs the shortest amount of time, one or two years. "Students who tested out of LEP-entitlement after one or two years of service generally performed above average on the citywide tests of reading (in English) and mathematics that were given in Spring, 1994. However, there were large differences in performance between those who had been served in ESL-only versus bilingual programs, and between those who exited after one or two years versus those who exited after three or more years." (NY Study, ix)

Even more important than the time element is the performance of LEP students in regular classrooms after they exit a special program. Once again, we find that students who had been enrolled in ESL classrooms received better scores in both reading and math than those who had been in native language classrooms. This must be the ultimate measure of program effectiveness: how well students are able to perform, unassisted, in regular classrooms after they have received the special services, for a period of time, of one or another special program. The New York study answers this question most emphatically in favor of intensive English language programs.

In my opinion, the New York data substantially refute the assertions of Virginia Collier at George Mason University who flatly states that LEP students who are in English language programs need five to ten years to reach English fluency sufficient for subject matter learning in English, but only four to seven years if they are in bilingual programs. (NABE Report, 1995) I have heard Professor Collier make this very statement at the Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics in March 1995 and at the international convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Others Languages (TESOL) in Baltimore in April 1994, and, as a one-time teacher of LEP children myself, I must protest these assertions. Collier and Thomas are expected to release their major study in spring 1996 and the opportunity to assess their work is eagerly awaited.

An important sequel to the publication of the New York study was the filing of a suit against the State Commissioner of Education by the Bushwick Parents Organization which represents 150 Brooklyn families. The suit charges the State Education Department with routinely granting waivers that permit school officials to keep tens of thousands of children in classes taught in their native language beyond the three-year legal limit, and, in some cases, beyond the six-year, absolute limit as well. The families allege that although the granting of waivers is supposedly predicated on a review of individual cases, the State Department of Education is evading the three- and six-year time limit on bilingual program enrollment by the wholesale waiver approvals. They also charge that bilingual education is ineffective. As reported in the New York Times, "tens of thousands of immigrant children in New York City have been permitted to 'languish' for up to six years in bilingual classes, learning neither English nor other subjects particularly well." (NY Times, 9/18/95)

As an expert witness in this law suit, I have reviewed the affidavits of the petitioners and respondents. The Bushwick Parents Organization specifically alleges that "because the children of its members routinely remain segregated in bilingual education programs in excess of three years, and in some cases in excess of six years, contrary to S 3204(2) of the State Education Law, these children are not receiving adequate instruction in English, the crucial skill that leads to equal opportunity in schooling, jobs, and public life in the United States." (Memorandum of Law in Opposition to Respondent's and Respondent-Intervenor's Motions to Dismiss, 19) The affidavits of some of the Bushwick parents and educators reveal the unremitting failure of New York State's education policy and its harmful effects on school children, as illustrated in the following excerpts:

> My grandson was in bilingual education from kindergarten through fifth grade at P.S. 377 in Bushwick. He is now in seventh grade, and cannot read in either English or Spanish... We and other people we know were pressured into keeping our children in bilingual education by school officials. We were told that because my grandson has a Spanish last name, he should remain in bilingual classes. My grandson attended Head Start in English, and did not speak any Spanish at that time...I am very frustrated with the failure of the bilingual education program to teach my grandson either English or Spanish. (Ada Jimenez)

> My son is eleven years old, and is in sixth grade at I.S. 291 in Bushwick. He participated in a Head Start program in English but has been in the bilingual program for six years... I have spoken with his teacher to try to switch him into regular English classes...My son is confused between

English and Spanish. I am unhappy with what he has learned in the bilingual education program. (Maria Cruz)

My son is in Ninth grade at Bushwick High School, and has been in bilingual education since he entered the school system... My son is confused between Spanish and English. I have never been consulted about whether I wished to remove him from bilingual classes. (Carmen Quinones)

As part of my duties as Assistant Principal, I was required to observe Social Studies class at Eastern District High School. I observed that English was rarely used in the supposedly bilingual classes. The ninth grade classes were generally taught entirely in Spanish, and even by twelfth grade the classes were still conducted approximately 85% in Spanish, with written material and exams in Spanish as well. I attempted many times to withdraw students from the bilingual education program when I thought that they no longer needed to be in all-Spanish classes...I was never once successful at withdrawing a student from a bilingual education program. In my experience, once a child was in a bilingual education program, he remained in such a program and was never mainstreamed into regular English-speaking classes...many students graduating from Eastern District High School were illiterate in both English and Spanish. (Edwin Selzer, former Assistant Principal, Eastern District High School, Brooklyn)

Within the last two years, we have spent a great deal of time examining the bilingual program. We have found that children in the bilingual program have not been improving their English skills, as their entire class day is taught in Spanish and only one period each day is devoted to studying English. Many of the children in bilingual classes were born in the United States and attended Head Start programs in English, but were then placed in bilingual programs when they entered the public school setting. Parents...discovered that their children were not advancing in English and, in many cases, their children's performance on English language tests were declining... Although many parents are aware of their right to remove their children from bilingual programs, many parents indicate that when they initiate the idea of withdrawing their children from bilingual programs, the individual teachers and principals inform them that the bilingual settings are the best environment for their children...many of the parents are unable to overcome the pressure put on them by these school officials...Many of these students graduate from school having never fully developed their English language skills, and they are therefore unprepared for higher education or employment in jobs in which English language skills are used. (Sister Kathy Maire, educator and organizer of the Bushwick Parents Organization)

These statements make abundantly clear what has been observed in school districts from Massachusetts to Texas to California: the temporary assistance needed by limited-English children has evolved into a long-term assignment to segregated classrooms and the denial of parents' rights to a choice in their children's educational opportunities. A positive outcome for the Brooklyn parents who are mounting this challenge to the state education bureaucracy is crucial for the city's students and, one hopes, will embolden parents in other districts.

The California Study and Others, in Brief

New York City's willingness to monitor the progress of LEP students and report the results to the public is highly praiseworthy when we survey the lack of accountability in other parts of the country. The State of California, with 1.2 million limited-English students (43% of all LEP students in the U.S.) and a 20-year history of involvement with bilingual education, commissioned an evaluation of educational programs for these students. *Meeting the Challenge of Language Diversity: An Evaluation of Programs for Pupils with Limited Proficiency in English,* the published report of a two-year study, 1990-92, shows generally poor results for bilingual education programs in California and essentially evades the legislature's requirement that it provide "information to determine which model for educating LEP pupils is most effective and cost effective." (Meeting the Challenge, 3)

Major findings of this study:

1. California public schools do not have valid assessments of the performance for students with limited proficiency in English. Therefore, the state and the public cannot hold schools accountable for LEP students achieving high levels of performance. (emphasis added)

2. Many schools do not reclassify students (exit them from the bilingual programs with appropriate skills to work in mainstream classrooms), keeping them in native language classrooms well beyond the time when they are fluent in English. "It is not surprising that many students may wait years to be formally retested for program exit and that many others may never be reclassified, going on to the middle school still bearing the LEP label." (38)

3. Junior and senior high school LEP students do not have access to core academic subjects through Sheltered English or ESL. Long stays in bilingual programs in elementary schools delay the effective learning of English language literacy skills which are so important for secondary school work. (Rossier, 1995)

Meeting the Challenge presents a bleak picture of twenty years of bilingual education in California. When the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual Bicultural Act of 1976 expired in 1987, the California State Department of Education sent notification to each school district that the intent of the Act would still be promoted by state regulations, principally, "that the primary goal of all [bilingual] programs is, as effectively and efficiently as possible, to develop in each child fluency in English." (Honig, 1987, 14-15) *Meeting the Challenge* fails to tell us how or if this goal is being properly met while offering a variety of excuses for not fulfilling this mission.

The weaknesses in this giant instructional system for limited-English students--one out of every five students in California--are of vast proportions. The fact that the State Department of Education has allowed school districts to evade their responsibility to assess and report on student progress shows an unconscionable lack of accountability by this powerful bureaucracy. If we cannot hold the schools responsible for program outcomes after twenty years, then we must place the blame for this failure squarely on the shoulders of the state agency that has forcefully promoted the bilingual education policy but has not monitored the results.

California's high school dropout rates, as reported in June 1995, amounted to a statewide average of 5% per year, or a 4-year average of 20% of students leaving school before graduation. Discouraging as that seems, the dropout rate for Latino students statewide is even higher--28%, compared to 10% for Asian students, and 12% for non-Latino white students. The four-year dropout rate for the Los Angeles Unified School District, the district enrolling the highest percentage of LEP students in the state, is a shocking 43.6%. (L.A. Times, 6/14/95)

In 1993 the Los Angeles Unified School District embarked on a plan to improve its bilingual education programs, partly through expanded teacher training in the native languages of the students (actually, in Spanish only). (L.A. Times, 9/3-4/93) Clearly, the increased emphasis on native language instruction has not yet had any positive effect on the dropout rates for LEP students in the Los Angeles schools. The latest Los Angeles figures on dropout rates by ethnic breakdown, as reported by the State Department of Education in October 1994 for the 1993-94 school year, are 44.4% for Hispanic students, three-fourths of whom are enrolled in bilingual classes in the district. (emphasis added)

Robert E. Rossier, in a review of the California study (1995) argues that, "Young people of limited-English proficiency have the same right as their native English-speaking schoolmates to have their linguistic and academic performance evaluated periodically by measures which clearly indicate to them and to the schools the extent of their progress toward the goals set for all students." (46-47) Rossier ends his review with two powerful indictments of the California study and the system that it attempted to evaluate:

> While the report presents no statistical data that would shed light on the effectiveness of current programs, it does provide several items of information that, read carefully, point to the conclusion that California's heavy reliance on native language teaching has not served LEP students well. The conclusion could be formed that the bilingual programs described as exemplary have instead resulted in delaying the learning of English, delaying the enrollment of LEP students in mainstream classes, and, in many cases, denying these students the opportunity to enroll in classes required for high school graduation. Not having access to classes available to their English-speaking classmates, LEP students are, in effect, denied an important civil right: the right to equal educational opportunity. (47-48)
>
> ...*Meeting the Challenge* has shown--as much by what it has avoided saying as by what it has said--that this opportunity will continue to be withheld from them until we are able to look truthfully at the havoc that the programs of the past twenty years have caused. (48)

As in the case of the Bushwick parents in Brooklyn, a group of Spanish-speaking parents in Los Angeles is actively protesting the bilingual program in which their children have been enrolled. (L. A. Times, 1/16/96) Las Familias del Pueblo (The Families of the Community) recently held its first parent meeting in thirteen years of providing after-school care to the children of garment workers. What drew so many parents out to this meeting after a hard day's work in the factories nearby was the opportunity to discuss their children's education in the Ninth Street School. Four-hundred children attend the Ninth Street School, 90% of them limited-English speakers. Although Las Familias del Pueblo had voiced its dissatisfaction with a program that delays the teaching of English for several years, there was real consternation at the end of the last school year when only six students (about 1% of the enrollment) mastered enough English to exit the district's native language classes.

School administrators claim that more English is being taught than in previous years and that the goal is to accelerate the move of bilingual students into mainstream classrooms, although they will not be able to report on the effects of these efforts for several years. But parents are not reassured and their leader, Sister Alice Callahan, who founded Las Familias as part of her work to help the poor and homeless, is reportedly alarmed at the broken English spoken by the children and the fact that year after year they continue to do all their homework in Spanish. She fears that without formal instruction in reading or writing English, they will not acquire the grammar or vocabulary necessary for secondary school or for college entrance. Callahan said,

> What we know is the bilingual system was intended to help children learn another language and maybe it works in some places, but we know our children are not learning to read and write in English...And poor kids don't have the luxury of catching up later on. (L. A. Times, 1/16/96)

The Ninth Street School does not allow bilingual students to begin reading in English until fourth grade--four years spent almost entirely in Spanish-language schooling. Parents may indeed wonder how their children can overcome such an impediment. A 16-year-old student interviewed at the parents' meeting revealed that he has been in Los Angeles schools since kindergarten and spent several years in bilingual (meaning Spanish-language) classrooms in the Ninth Street School. He has managed to be admitted to a magnet high school and is working very hard not to flunk out. "I can read, but I can't understand what I am reading. They never showed me the vocabulary I need now." Las Familias del Pueblo and Sister Callahan have obvious cause to call for urgent action.

Massachusetts Revisited

Ironically, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which passed the first state law mandating native language teaching in 1971, Chapter 71-A, has an even more dismal record than California in this area of public accountability. Efforts to reform the Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)law have been successfully resisted, even though there can hardly be one legislator who has any documented proof for the effectiveness of bilingual education in Massachusetts. A commission was appointed by Governor Weld to survey the status of bilingual education in the state, and in December 1994 reported this conclusion:

> ...we do not know, on the basis of measured outcomes, whether TBE programs in Massachusetts produce good results or poor results. There are no comprehensive data that evaluate the performance of TBE pupils compared with pupils from other groups. This specialized program which accounts for 5% of all pupils in Massachusetts public schools and 17% of all pupils in Boston public schools is not held separately accountable for its performance. (Massachusetts Bilingual Education Commission, 41)

Apparently, the commission has recommended that the Commonwealth Department of Education develop new guidelines on accountability as soon as suitable tests are developed. As a veteran Massachusetts educator who has seen many a set of "guidelines" arrive with a flourish and disappear without a trace, I reserve judgment on the latest pronouncements.

Massachusetts probably leads the country in zany educational experiments. I reported briefly in *Forked Tongue* (30-31) on the project to encourage the use of Cape Verdean, a non-standard dialect of Portuguese, as a classroom language of instruction. The Boston Public Schools, in its infinite wisdom, now maintains a K-12 bilingual program in Kriolu, a dialect spoken in the Cape Verde Islands which has no alphabet, no written language and no books. Massachusetts is thought to be the only place in the world to have school rooms in which Kriolu is the language of instruction, with Kriolu programs in Boston, Brockton and New Bedford schools. Portuguese is the official language of education in Cape Verde. (Boston Globe, 5/7/95)

Aside from the minor matters of alphabet, a written language or books, there are these exquisite complications. Cape Verdean students may speak one of many dialects and not understand Kriolu, as explained by a science teacher in the Dearborn School, Boston: "Sometimes a student gets upset because he's not understanding the Fogo dialect so you have to go back and help him in Kriolu or Portuguese." Communication between the schools and Cape Verdean parents is not improved either. Massachusetts law requires that school documents be sent to parents in the student's native language. A teacher at the Condon School, Eileen Fonseca, says it frustrates parents to receive a notice written in Kriolu. "When we send home report cards and matriculation papers in Kriolu, parents complain. This is new to them. They have to have it read three times, or they just ask for Portuguese or English, often so it can be read to them by family or friends." One parent made this comment, "They sent me a letter apparently to tell me something. I never understood what it was trying to say. I called to say that if the intent of the letter is to communicate, it would be better in Portuguese." (Boston Globe, A94)

The Kriolu Caper makes an amusing, now-I've-heard-everything anecdote, but the enormity of such folly in educational policy is no laughing matter. This program neither helps students learn the language and acquire the literacy skills necessary for school achievement, nor does it facilitate communication between school and family. What it does do is foster resentment in the Cape Verdean community that may lead to misunderstandings between home and school, a situation not unlike the misguided attempt to make Black English the language of instruction for African-American school children two decades ago. The Peoples' Republic of Massachusetts is in serious need of a reality check.

The Special Alternative Instructional Programs (SAIP) Study

William Tikunoff and his associates, under the auspices of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), published the first survey of successful English-language intensive programs in U.S. public schools in 1991.

Until recently, very little attention had been given to programs for LEP students that do not use native language teaching. From 1968 when the first Bilingual Education Act was passed until 1988, 96% of federal funding for demonstration projects and research studies went to native language teaching programs, with a meager 4% for programs concentrating on English language teaching. In 1988 Congress voted to revise the funding formula to allocate 25% to "Special Alternative Instructional Programs," as these English-teaching programs are labelled.

The SAIP report is a descriptive study of nine school districts in the U.S., selected for their well-documented success in educating limited-English students. Through careful observation of classrooms and examination of school records, this study presents detailed data on effective teaching practices. How do these particular schools in suburban, rural and metropolitan areas manage to teach their LEP students English rapidly and effectively and to teach school subjects in English to students from many different language backgrounds? The study supplies the answers to this central question by describing the program features in each school that contribute to positive outcomes for LEP students. It lays out a blueprint for building solidly efficient English-language based instruction for students from kindergarten through 12th grade.

Russell Gersten and associates at the University of Oregon, in their review of the SAIP study (1995, a), summarize the various ways that teachers of LEP students are meeting effectively the dual challenge of teaching English language literacy--speaking, reading and writing--and school subjects such as mathematics, science and social studies, in English. They emphasize the key lessons from the Tikunoff study: school programs must be restructured to respond more flexibly to LEP students' needs for higher levels of English proficiency, and teachers need better training in merging English language development with content area instruction.

The Rossell/Baker Review: The Educational Effectiveness of Bilingual Education

This section will conclude with a review of an unpublished work-in-progress by Rossell and Baker that summarizes the major studies on the effectiveness of bilingual education and analyzes those studies that are methodologically acceptable.

Social science research in education is, at best, an approximation of true scientific research. School children cannot be isolated in laboratory test tubes and studied under pristine conditions, controlling for minute variables. In the area of bilingual education research, the quality of the product is generally acknowledged to be especially low. The elements of a methodologically valid evaluation of a special effort should include, at the minimum:

- random assignment of subjects to avoid self-selection bias
- comparison of like subjects, i.e., same ethnic group or language background, or socioeconomic status
- a control group to compare with the group receiving the special program (treatment)
- pre-testing to establish that students in different groups are starting with the same traits, i.e., all are limited or non-English speakers, or statistical adjustments are made for pre-treatment differences
- post-testing to determine the effect of different treatments
- assurance that one group does not receive extra benefits, aside from the difference in treatments, such as after-school programs, or a longer school day.

In the area of bilingual education research there is the added problem that the label is applied to a variety of educational practices, ranging from the classic model in which native language instruction is given 80-90% of the school day to the other extreme where the teacher may use a word or two of another language on occasion. This complicates the work of analyzing the effects of bilingual programs.

Rossell and Baker read over 500 studies, 300 of which were program evaluations. The authors found 72 methodologically acceptable studies, that is, studies that show the effect of transitional bilingual education on English language learning, reading and mathematics, compared to 1) "submersion" or doing nothing, 2) English as a Second Language, 3) structured immersion in English, and 4) maintenance bilingual education. The authors' overall finding, which is of crucial importance as this is the most current, comprehensive analysis of the research, is that, "there is still...no consistent research support for transitional bilingual education as a superior instructional practice for improving the English language achievement of limited-English-proficient children." (emphasis added, 14-15)

The table that follows provides a clear illustration of the poor results for transitional bilingual education programs which prove to be either no better than other approaches or, in most cases, to be worse than other alternatives. In only a very small percentage of the studies does bilingual education show better results. The data comparing TBE assistance with classrooms where students are given no special help at all (submersion) are especially damning for TBE and are rarely reported. Here we see that TBE is better than submersion in only 22% of the studies in reading; in only 7% of the test results in language learning; and in 9% of the programs in math achievement. (16)

Table 2.
% of Methodologically Acceptable Studies* Demonstrating Program Superiority, Equality, or Inferiority by Achievement Test Outcome

	READING**	LANGUAGE	MATH
TBE v. Submersion (Do Nothing)			
TBE Better	22%	7%	9%
No Difference	45%	29%	56%
TBE Worse	33%	64%	35%
Total N	60	14	34
TBE v. ESL			
TBE Better	0%	0%	25%
No Difference	71%	67%	50%
TBE Worse	29%	33%	25%
Total N	7	3	4
TBE v. Submersion/ESL			
TBE Better	19%	6%	11%
No Difference	48%	35%	55%
TBE Worse	33%	59%	34%
Total N	67	17	38
TBE v. Structured Immersion			
TBE Better	0%	0%	0%
No Difference	17%	100%	63%
TBE Worse	83%	0%	38%
Total N	12	1	8
Structured Immersion v. ESL			
Immersion Better	100%	0%	0%
No Difference	0%	0%	0%
Total N	3	0	0
TBE v. Maint. BE			
TBE Better	100%	0%	0%
Total N	1	0	0

* Studies are listed in more than one category if there were different effects for different grades or cohorts.

** Oral English achievement for preschool programs.

(Reprint permission granted by Pioneer Institute, Boston.)

How can state and federal education policy supporting transitional bilingual education hold up much longer in the face of such negative evidence? The reason for mandating bilingual education programs was the expectation that they would help limited-English students do better than if they were given no help at all. In fact, the U.S. Supreme Court's Lau decision of 1974 specifically requires that something special be done for these students. Hence, if bilingual education is no better than or worse than doing nothing, the advocates for this failed remedy have much to answer for.

Rossell and Baker discuss Cummins' facilitation theory and threshold hypothesis at some length, systematically refuting the particular studies supporting these ideas. Cummins' theoretical support for transitional bilingual education was pronounced after the fact, about ten years after bilingual programs had been started--not as an educational but as a civil rights initiative.

No credible evidence yet exists to suggest that children who are taught in their native language until they reach a certain threshold (about seven years of education) will reach a higher level of academic achievement than children who are taught in a second language from an early age. Neither is there any evidence for the notion that children must be taught to read first in their native language so that they can then transfer the skills to reading in a second language with ease. The arguments advanced by Rossell and Baker, disproving the validity of the studies (Collier, Skutnabb-Kangas, Burkheimer, Ramirez) that claim to support Cummins' hypotheses, are valuable to an understanding of bilingual education's basic fallacy. The fundamental questions are clearly stated, "what knowledge transfers from the native tongue to the second language that cannot be learned simply from the second language learning process alone? ...what particular mental processes or items of literacy related knowledge possessed by someone who learns to read in his native tongue enables him or her to surpass the child who learns to read or write in the second language?" (31)

A graphic illustration of these points is presented in the following example:

> ...while it is true that individuals who are literate in their native tongue are easier to teach a second language to, this tells us nothing about how non-literate individuals should be taught, nor the language they should be taught in. It is probably also true that a person who has been unable to learn to ride a bike is a harder person to teach to ski, but this does not necessarily mean that the best way to teach a non-bike rider how to ski is to spend years teaching them how to ride a bike. The bilingual education literature, however, is rife with such unwarranted inferential leaps. (29)

I am impelled to inject a personal note at this time about my own acquisition of a second language and literacy. As a six-year-old immigrant child who entered an American classroom without a word of English and with no previous schooling (no nursery school, no Head Start, no kindergarten), I would be judged an "at risk" child by today's standards. There was no special program for immigrant children, no trained teacher of English as a Second Language, no special textbooks, and no sensitive, caring speaker of my native language on the school staff. Yet, I learned to read and write, do arithmetic and other school subjects in English so well that within two years I was moved ahead--"skipped"--a grade. My parents had each had four years of formal schooling and our family lived in severe poverty, conditions that are considered to contribute to school failure. If I could learn English and make a success of my schooling with no special help at school or at home, is it not reasonable to believe that today's immigrant/ migrant/refugee children have a fairly decent chance of doing the same, given the wide assortment of special educational assistance available? It is my professional opinion that learning to read and learning subject matter in a second language can be routinely accomplished, most rapidly and advantageously by young students, provided the educational plan is seriously focused on these goals.

The Ramirez study (1991), which Rossell reviewed at length in 1992, is routinely cited by bilingual education advocates as the strongest research evidence for the effectiveness of native language teaching programs. Briefly, Ramirez et al. studied and compared student performance in early-exit transitional bilingual education classrooms, all-English structured immersion classrooms, and late-exit maintenance bilingual classrooms, with a national sample of 1,054 students. Although the study is judged by Rossell and Baker to be methodologically sound, its claims for the superiority of late-exit bilingual programs (6-7 years in native language classrooms) is not supported by the internal evidence. Students in the early-exit (three years) bilingual classrooms did better in reading (although not in language arts and math) than immersion students in the first two years, yet the advantage of bilingual instruction had disappeared by the end of four years of schooling when immersion students did better in language arts and there was no difference between programs in reading or math performance. (32)

The Ramirez study does not show support for the facilitation effect since it shows that students who stayed in bilingual classrooms the longest actually did the worst. (33) Nor does this study provide either a clear distinction between the three program models it described or make valid comparisons to support policy decisions, as was noted by the National Research Council (1992):

> Although the study's final report claims that the three programs represent three distinct instructional models, the findings indicate that the programs were not that distinct. They were essentially different versions of the same treatment: immersion and early-exit programs were in some instances

> indistinguishable from one another....The final designs of the longitudinal and immersion studies were ill-suited to answer the important policy questions that appear to have motivated them. (102-103)

Rossell and Baker's literature review, which will be published as Chapter 3 of a book titled *Bilingual Education Reform in Massachusetts*, arrives at a few well-supported conclusions. Classroom teachers with some knowledge of the student's native language are more effective than teachers who are fluent in that language, presumably because the teacher who is fluent in Spanish, for example, will be inclined to teach in that language most of the time while the teacher with only minimal skills in Spanish will use the language sparingly. A little native language teaching, when children just start school, is better than a lot. The teacher who was most successful in raising the English language achievement of Chinese students was one who taught 90 percent of the time in English, according to Fillmore. (1980) In Austin, Texas, the most successful bilingual program had teachers who used English as the medium of instruction 82 percent of the time. (35)

Rossell and Baker criticize my emphasis on the importance of time-on-task as the essential, though not the only, factor in effective second language learning. No argument put forward in this study convinces me otherwise. The reasons originally stated in the first edition of *Forked Tongue* (83, 119, 125, 243) still stand in light of my observations of classrooms and my readings of the past five years. Immersion in a second language does not mean "teaching" the language but giving students the means to use the language in social and academic classroom situations. Any program, whatever its label, that employs a trained teacher who uses interactive teaching techniques, visual aids, educational technology, or other means to promote second language acquisition through learning of school subjects, is going to produce superior results in the short and long run. I believe the New York study bears this out. If the classroom contains students from only one language background and the teacher knows that language and can, in the early weeks, give a little help in the native language, all well and good. However, native language support is not crucial.

The writers propose the following hypothesis for consideration: that a little native language teaching may be preferable to English immersion because it will give LEP students some time to learn in their native language until the English becomes "comprehensible" and their time-on-task will be effective time-on-task. This is a very weak argument for true bilingual programs require all instruction in the native language, not just a little bit for comfort. Once engaged in this type of program, students may not acquire the English skills for literacy and for academic learning for years. A recent personal experience illustrates this point.

I revisited the Armory Street School in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1994, the school where I had been a Spanish-English bilingual teacher from 1974-79. After observing fifth and sixth grade students, I talked with one of their teachers about the low level of English language skills. She said, "No, these kids have not just arrived from another country, they've been in the Springfield schools for several years. But I'm only allowed to give them 45 minutes a day of English. The tragedy is that these kids will go to junior high school next year and they still will not have the skills to be in mainstream classes." Springfield was one of the first school districts in Massachusetts to institute system-wide native language instruction programs for its LEP students. It is the classic example of how bilingual education, once firmly established, becomes a separate education track from which students do not easily escape. Bilingual education supporters have determinedly reiterated the necessity of giving LEP students many years of native language instruction and will reject the Rossell-Baker idea that just a little use of native language may be the wiser course.

A second idea advanced by Rossell and Baker is the "rest theory" of effective language learning. The "rest theory" seems to emerge from the studies on differences between massed versus spaced learning trials, that is, that subjects who were allowed interruptions for rest periods on repetitious tasks did better than subjects who had more practice but little or no rest. The Rossell/Baker idea is that teachers should switch to the native language from time to time to give students a rest. This theory reveals the enormous gap between the experience of the writers and that of actual classroom teachers of LEP students. Interactive, content-based language teaching does not consist of boring, repetitive drills, nor does it force children to spend all day studying grammar. Good teachers vary the pacing of activities to keep students interested and alert, and the various school-day activities afford opportunities for children to speak among themselves in any language they choose. As a former teacher and teacher supervisor, I find nothing of value in the "rest theory" for the education of limited-English students. Nor is there any documented evidence that young children will stay out of school because of the psychological strain of learning a new language.

There is a wealth of good material in the Rossell and Baker study, in spite of the wobbly theorizing, that will provide other researchers, educators and policy makers with hard data and solid analyses. Perhaps this book, when it is published by the Pioneer Institute in Boston in 1996, may promote the cause of bilingual education reform in Massachusetts.

THE LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS: THE GRASS ROOTS MOVEMENTS

The most promising development I have observed in bilingual education reform is the robust spirit in local school districts to question, reflect on, and finally reject the continuation of special programs that are not producing successful results for limited-English students. Independent teachers, school principals, superintendents and school board members in various cities across the country are braving the criticism of community activists and self-interested beneficiaries of the bilingual bureaucracy to reject the "facilitation hypothesis" now that it has been tested in their districts for years and produced less than affirmative results.

The message conveyed to me countless times in the past few years is typically this one: "We have been providing a transitional bilingual education program for 10, 12, 15 years, with instruction in the native language in all subjects including reading and writing, and some English lessons, with native language teachers and textbooks in the native language. We thought the students would be able to exit the program in three years or so with the skills necessary to work successfully in a mainstream classroom with English-speaking kids. But it isn't happening. Even after five or six years they have not learned enough English to speak, read, and write adequately. We're committed to spending the money but we must find a better way to educate these children. Can you help us?"

One School in Massachusetts

In the fall of 1990, Frank Moriarty, principal of the Peter W. Reilly School in Lowell, Massachusetts, called me with exactly the complaint described above. The working class city of Lowell is home to the second largest Cambodian refugee population in the U.S. and to a large Puerto Rican community as well. The Reilly School had been implementing a Spanish bilingual program for students in kindergarten to sixth grade for five years. Mr. Moriarty and his teaching staff were troubled both by the poor results in student achievement in acquiring English language skills and in learning school subjects and by the segregative nature of their classrooms, the Puerto Rican students substantially separated from their English-speaking classmates, most of the school day. But what they found particularly disappointing was the fact that they were following the exact guidelines defined by the Lowell Bilingual Department and yet seeing nothing resembling the anticipated rapid second language learning or easy transfer of knowledge from the first to the second language.

I met with the entire school staff for a general discussion of their views on problem areas, visited classrooms to observe teaching strategies, reviewed the textbooks being used, and spent time in informal interviews with the bilingual and ESL teachers in order to discern their particular concerns. Interestingly, the bilingual and ESL teachers expressed two major anxieties: first, that the approach they had been using with these students was not working and definitely needed changing, and second, that they would lose their jobs if the program were revised. Mr. Moriarty reassured the staff that their jobs were secure, that he was confident that each teacher currently in his school--with some additional training--would provide competent instruction in new ways, and that the professional staff would be involved in the redesigning of the school program for limited-English students.

In early 1991, a plan was developed for the following school year that would include revising the kindergarten and first grade curriculum to emphasize an English immersion approach with some use of Spanish, especially in the early months of school, for facilitating understanding of new concepts. All teachers at these grade levels were to participate in workshops on immersion techniques, content-based language teaching, and curriculum writing. These necessary activities were to be extended to grades two, three and four in the second year of the plan and to grades five and six in the third year. Pre-testing and end-of-the-year testing on English language skills, classroom grades on school subjects, portfolios of classroom work, school attendance, and other data would be collected in order to chart student learning over time and assess the value of the new program.

In late August of 1991, with initial planning completed and the first staff workshop scheduled, Mr. Moriarty received instructions from the then Assistant Superintendent. He was told that funds would not be provided to make the changes that he had outlined and that the school district did not approve of his plan, partly, he later learned, because of the involvement of Rosalie Porter. It was a bitter disappointment for Mr. Moriarty who had hoped, before his retirement, to initiate a badly needed change of course in his school's inadequate teaching of limited-English students.

I called the Peter W. Reilly School on September 12, 1995, and talked with the current principal, Mr. Vennochi. When he described the instructional program for LEP students, he confirmed my suspicion that nothing had been allowed to change. Students in kindergarten and grade 1 are still placed in self-contained classrooms (all Spanish speakers together) where they are taught in Spanish 90% of the time, English 10% of the time, on the orders of the Lowell School Department. In the second grade, students are introduced to reading in English using the Ginn reading series and the principal said, in all seriousness, "It's very hard for these students to master reading in English because they haven't had very much preparation for it. And besides, they're still doing reading in Spanish and it becomes confusing for them. By the time these students reach grade 4, the use of English in the classroom increases." In spite of the fact that Reilly School 4th graders had among the highest test scores in the city in most subjects, LEP students did not score nearly as well as their peers in the mainstream classrooms. Since these students received the extraordinary services of the bilingual program for 5 years--from day one of kindergarten--and they clearly had not yet learned English or their school subjects well enough, it is not unreasonable to conclude that this approach is failing the students. Yet school principal Vennochi felt duty bound, despite the evidence of his own students' lack of achievement, to pay lip service to the prevailing orthodoxy that is strongly promoted in the Lowell Public Schools about the benefits of native language instruction.

One Teacher in California

Not only are school administrators looking for new solutions for improving their teaching of language minority students, but teachers are eager to make changes in their own classrooms or, even more ambitiously, in their school districts. Dozens of individual teachers across the country have appealed to me directly or to READ for information on research, successful programs and teaching methods. We have responded with various types of information and services to parents, teachers, and administrators in these localities: Los Angeles, Montclair-Ontario, Salinas, San Marcos, San Rafael, Santa Ana, and Westminster, California; Providence, Rhode Island; Mathis and Houston, Texas; Chelsea, Holyoke, Randolph, and Southbridge, Massachusetts; Atlantic City and Bay City, New Jersey; Dearborn, Michigan.

Teachers who are feeling dismay and frustration are beginning to take action. One moving and courageous example is Suzanne Guerrero from Salinas, California. Suzanne Guerrero, an elementary school teacher of LEP students in the Salinas City School District, called me a year ago to ask for advice and information on how to present her arguments for changing the bilingual program in her district. Suzanne related her total disillusion with native language teaching as a means of giving Latino students an appropriate education. She is Mexican-American and proud of her language and culture, but fourteen years as a bilingual teacher have convinced her that the approach is not only ineffective but harmful to her students.

What distinguishes Suzanne from the dozens of others I have corresponded with or talked to is that she is willing to go public with her discontent. Most teachers who are critical of bilingual programs are very reluctant to take a public stand and invite the inevitable personal attacks. Suzanne is a tenured, senior staff member in the Salinas schools and she knows that she cannot be fired for expressing her opinions. And that is exactly what Suzanne is doing. She is distributing articles and books to teachers and organizing group meetings to discuss the readings, in the face of a generally hostile response. Most recently Suzanne published an outspoken article in her local teachers' union newsletter. Here are a few electrifying quotes from Suzanne's article in *The Voice* of May 1995 in which she responds to an earlier essay calling for salary stipends for bilingual teachers and complaining of racism in the community:

> I am a bilingual teacher (and have been one for 14 years in this district) and certainly do not agree with you. Where is your proof, your evidence, to back up your accusations of racism? I have not experienced any racism toward myself. I am an American of Mexican heritage. Am I also racist because I oppose bilingual education--after personally observing that it just is not working? Definitely not!
>
> ...This is not a racial issue. In your article, you allude to the "research which clearly shows that students perform better when educated in a language they understand..." Nowhere has this been proven. In fact, the sooner a child begins to learn a second language, the more rapidly and effectively he will acquire that language for social purposes and academic learning. Also, the human brain acquires language more easily the younger a child is. There is no sound reason to delay the learning of English.

One School District in Pennsylvania

The Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, English Acquisition Program was the subject of a lengthy article in the Fall 1995 issue of *READ Perspectives,* Vol. II-2, by Professors Judy Simons-Turner and Mark Connelly of St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia, and Ann Goldberg, coordinator of the English Acquisition Program in Bethlehem. For the reader who is interested in a very detailed, descriptive analysis, the above article is highly recommended. It is important to provide a brief review here because this is one of the few school districts that has made substantial changes in its education program for LEP children in a well-planned, successful manner, enlisting the support of the Puerto Rican community and the bilingual teaching staff.

The Bethlehem Area School District encompasses five municipalities with 13,000 students of whom 1300 are limited-English students, the majority of whom are native speakers of Spanish. In early 1992 the school superintendent, Thomas J. Doluisio, asked for my advice in remodeling the traditional bilingual education program then in place. Dr. Doluisio voiced the frustration and disappointment that are not uncommon when a well-meant effort fails. The Bethlehem district had implemented a native language program of instruction for over ten years, with competent bilingual teachers following the classic model; students were bused to bilingual schools to make up entire classrooms of Spanish speakers. However, these special efforts had not achieved salutary results.

Because Pennsylvania does not have a state law requiring bilingual programs, Dr. Doluisio did not need to defy state law in order to change his program. He did, however, have to confront the bilingual community and the bilingual professional staff in his school district. Apparently Dr. Doluisio was up to the task, slowly but surely winning acceptance for initiating what the district labels its English Acquisition Program. As I was leaving the country for a year, I referred the Bethlehem administrators to Dr. Esther Eisenhower for professional guidance. Dr. Eisenhower assisted in the curriculum revision and staff training and arranged for Bethlehem teachers to visit ESL classrooms in the Fairfax County Public Schools, home to one of the largest and most respected ESL programs in the country. One year of planning and preparation, public relations efforts in the community, and retraining and reassuring of staff in the school district, paved the way for the English Acquisition Program that started in September 1993.

The Board of School Directors stated the goal of the new program: "to have all limited-English-proficient students become fluent in English in the shortest amount of time so they may experience maximum success in school." (Bethlehem Plan, 1993) The crucial changes defined by the planning committee of 30 teachers and administrators and firmly established since the opening of schools in September 1993 are the following:

- limited-English students will no longer be bused to other schools for native language instruction but will be educated in their neighborhood schools, with few exceptions

- language minority students will be tested for English language skills on entering the Bethlehem schools; all LEP students will be classified as beginner, intermediate or advanced level English learners, or as fully fluent in English and needing no special language services

- all LEP students will be heterogeneously grouped with native English speakers in regular classrooms, and will be taught all school subjects in English through an adapted, regular school curriculum

- progress in oral proficiency, reading and writing in English will be assessed twice yearly

- special approaches for LEP students include a literature based reading program, writing workshop, 75 minutes daily of ESL instruction for beginner level students, and additional tutorial support, when needed

- middle school and high school students are assigned to their neighborhood schools and receive 2 periods daily of ESL instead of regular language arts; are integrated into regular math, social studies, and science classes; are given tutorial help, if needed, and may also participate in a daily after school program for extra help

- high school students have access to a mentor program which provides extra, one-on-one assistance when needed.

In the fall of 1994, after the English Acquisition Program had been in place for one school year, Turner and Goldberg administered two surveys, one addressed to teachers and administrators in the Bethlehem Area School District, and one (printed in English and Spanish) to the parents of students enrolled in the program. The goal of the surveys was twofold: to obtain a general indication of the degree to which the program was supported by school staff and parents, and to gain information on the strengths and weaknesses of the program and specific recommendations for improvements. (Turner, 1994)

An analysis of the survey directed at teachers and administrators highlighted the following results to the Board of School Directors:

- 39% said all or most students made substantial progress towards the main goal of the program; 23% said more than half the students made substantial progress

- 50% of respondents viewed the new program positively, 44% gave it a mixed response, while only 4% registered a negative reaction

- 83% said they anticipate the average LEP student to learn English well enough for social purposes in 1-3 years, while 53% said it would take an average of 1-3 years to learn English well for academic success in the classroom

Turner adds a cautionary note on the question of number of years for English language acquisition, "It should be recognized that these responses are based...not only on the first year results of the English Acquisition Program but on the years in which some of the teachers worked in the former bilingual program. ...it will be important to survey staff again in 3-4 years to determine if their response to this question has changed." (Turner, 3)

The teachers strongly recommended a reduction in class sizes systemwide, not only in the English Acquisition Program, and an increase in teacher training, ideally through the services of a long-term training consultant who would give a needed continuity to the program's efforts.

An analysis of the 276 responses to the parent survey produced the following conclusions:

- 81% of parents felt their child progressed well academically during the first year of the new program

- 82% of parents rated the program as good to very good

- 12% of parents reported their child's having academic problems during the year; 81% said they visited the school during the year while 53% said they had a conference with the teacher.

Parents' recommendations for improvements focused mainly on more opportunities for English language learning including after school tutorials, a summer program, and more homework. A number of respondents suggested that English classes be offered to parents and that more information be sent home by the schools.

Turner notes at the end of the report that the high level of acceptance for the English Acquisition Program among teachers, administrators and parents may be credited to the careful planning and sensitivity of the administration. The evidence of positive attitudes developing in one year is particularly impressive considering the negative publicity in the community and the reluctant reception from teachers preceding the introduction of the program. Professor Turner recommended that a longitudinal study be conducted over a period of several years to collect and analyze data on student achievement, and that a descriptive account of successful teaching strategies, materials, and training be maintained.

In June 1995 a brief report on the achievement of all limited-English students, K-12, in the English Acquisition Program showed the following gains:

- 29% of those students classified "Beginners" at the beginning of the school year had moved to the "Intermediate" level by June

- 12% moved from "Intermediate" to "Advanced"

- 46% moved from "Advanced" level to exit from the program.

These classifications of English language proficiency are based on a carefully defined set of competencies that Bethlehem has developed as well as on testing and teacher evaluations. Considering the current state of the art in second language assessment, the Bethlehem standards are surprisingly good as compared to those of the numerous school districts which I have studied.

Much more data must be collected, analyzed and reported by the Bethlehem Area School District in order for it to substantiate any claims of success for this program. In the next few years, it will be possible to chart the achievement of students who entered the English Acquisition Program in kindergarten as limited-English speakers and determine how many years they were enrolled before mainstreaming. Were these students successful in the regular classroom after exiting the program? Were they referred for special remedial services at a higher rate than native English speakers (Special Education, Title 1, etc.)? Are they dropping out of school before high school completion at higher rates than other groups? When they graduate from high school, how many are going on to higher education? Bethlehem does not have a control group receiving a different treatment with which to compare the achievement of students in the English Acquisition Program. However, it would be of some value to dig back in the earlier records on Bethlehem students who participated in the former bilingual program to compare outcomes, if those records are still available.

One Law Suit Against the Seattle School District

The Seattle, Washington, School District educates 45,000 students in its public schools, of whom 6,000 are limited-English proficient and represent 90 different language backgrounds. Three fourths of the LEP students are Asian. As in many other urban school districts, the number of limited-English students swelled suddenly in the 1980s and the number of different languages and ethnic groups increased also. To accommodate this multicultural, heterolingual population of students and to remove the language barrier to an equal education, the school system tried a number of approaches, from a program focused largely on native language instruction to an intensive English language teaching effort, with various intermediate modifications. A review of the district's published documents, coupled with the private observations of school personnel, made clear the rationale for Seattle's current approach. Because the district cannot implement a dual language program for every LEP student, it would be unfair and potentially divisive to do it only for some.

Other problems with largely native language instruction that were recognized in Seattle are the higher cost and the loss of flexibility in staffing. More bilingual teachers have to be hired who can only work with students from one language background; native language materials must be purchased in several languages, for materials are not currently available in multiple languages. In the end, this type of program would be segregative and unfair to some students. Seattle school board policy was to establish a program that meets the needs of LEP students and helps them to assimilate.

In the early 1990s the district, which is divided into regions, prepared to initiate a system of school-based management that would give each school the autonomy to plan its own schedule, methods of instruction, classroom organization, and strategies for meeting the needs of special students (limited-English, low achievers, gifted and talented, disabled, pre-literate, etc.). The decision-making would rest not with a central administration but with the school staff, principal, and parents. The central administration essentially gave each school free rein with regard to how it would use its budget but with the proviso that the school would be accountable for the achievement of its students.

In the 1993 school year, the Seattle district employed 230 qualified bilingual/ESL teachers and assistant teachers, plus 40 bilingual tutors. The district developed teacher preparation programs jointly with local colleges and universities, giving staff members the opportunity to take courses leading to an undergraduate degree in education, at district expense. It was anticipated that bilingual paraprofessionals would take these opportunities and become teachers in the Seattle schools on completing their degree requirements. Seattle has also invested in recruiting efforts to find qualified personnel to teach limited-English students.

Since 1992, a new inclusive approach called the "blended model" has been pioneered in several Seattle elementary schools, a coordinated approach that holds special promise for limited-English students. Concern for the long-term segregation of language minority students and loss of confidence in the bilingual approach of native language instruction, coinciding with the school-based management opportunity, led to the development of this new model. In essence, the elementary school assigns all students to regular classrooms, carefully controlling for an appropriate mixture in each. For example, of 22 students in a second grade classroom, 5 may be limited-English, 2 may have learning disabilities, and 5 may be low achievers in reading or math (Title 1 is the federal program of remedial instruction in these subjects for children from low income families). In addition to a regular elementary teacher, each classroom has a full- or part-time teacher who may be a Special Education, Title 1, bilingual, or ESL specialist. The central administration invested in the cross-training of the various specialist teachers so that they have some understanding of each other's specialties, and provided the funds for reducing class size in the schools implementing the blended model. Seattle has other innovative programs such as the Bilingual Orientation Center which provides intensive English language classes and remedial academic work for students of high school age who arrive in Seattle with little or no English and, in some cases, with little or no formal education in their native land.

In September 1993 Evergreen Legal Services, a public advocacy firm, brought a suit against the Seattle School District and the State of Washington in King County Superior Court on behalf of Sang Van et al. and the class of all Limited English Proficient students and their guardians. A number of complaints were alleged in the law suit: the lack of credentialed native language teachers, the assignment of LEP students to particular schools, the location of bilingual program schools, the lack of sufficient materials in the native languages of the students, and other related problems. The applicable law in Washington state, Chapter 28 A 180, revised in 1982, requires transitional bilingual education programs when there are sufficient numbers of LEP students from the same language background, or, where use of two languages is not practicable, as established by the school superintendent, an alternative system such as ESL may be used. The Seattle district not only maintained that the variety of native languages and the district's desegregation goals made it impractical to do a full-time native language program but that students were better served in non-segregated settings with a special English language program supported by the use of the native language, whenever necessary and if feasible, for clarification.

Seattle has, in fact, achieved demonstrable success for limited-English students in recent years. The dropout rate for LEP students is lower than for other students, system-wide. In the three school years from 1990 to 1993, the dropout rate for LEP students averaged 10.9% while the dropout rate for the rest of the district averaged 16.2%. (Seattle, 1993) A comparison of the numbers of high school graduates for the same 3-year period follows:

Table 3.
High School Graduates - Bilingual vs. Overall District
Seattle Public Schools

		Number of Graduates	Average Senior Enrollment	Graduation Percent
1990-91:	Bilingual	210	249	84.3%
	Overall	1954	2470	79.1%
1991-92:	Bilingual	267	316	84.5%
	Overall	1982	2498	79.3%
1992-93:	Bilingual	300	367	81.7%
	Overall	2153	2633	81.8%

(Seattle School District, 1993)

One additional indicator that the progress of limited-English students compares favorably with other groups in the district is the November 1993 Data Profile which reports on the rate of students who are enrolled in Special Education programs. The district average is 9.4%, while the enrollment for Asian students who make up one-fourth of the student body and three-fourths of the LEP students is 4.1%. Nationally, higher percentages of LEP students than other groups are erroneously placed in Special Education programs, not because of true learning disabilities but due to the temporary condition of being limited in their knowledge of the English language. Clearly, the Seattle district is not making that mistake.

Nevertheless, Evergreen Legal Services brought a class action suit against the Seattle School District. I strongly suspect that the suit was concerned less with the particular complaints of the plaintiffs than with an opportunity to use Seattle as a test case to force the city and other school districts in Washington to put in heavy-duty bilingual education programs with native language instruction in all subjects, most of the school day, for several years. The district decided to fight for what it believed to be in the best interests of its students. As an expert witness on behalf of the Seattle district, I reviewed school documents, visited half a dozen schools, observed classrooms, interviewed teachers and administrators, and prepared to testify in court, along with other experts.

On April 18, 1995, a settlement agreement was signed by all parties to this suit which set forth in detail the way in which the district will meet its legal obligations to LEP students, with regard to monitoring achievement of students, recruitment and staff training, curriculum development, and other program features. This settlement does not essentially change the Seattle district's education policies or practices. Plaintiffs' attorneys did not succeed in forcing the district into engaging in more native language teaching than it now provides. The settlement is a victory for the Seattle district and for its right to continue to give a range of different educational services to the limited-English students who are benefiting from this integrated, effective program. Seattle provides a wonderful example of sanity and strength prevailing against the threat of unreasonable demands. This case should give courage to other school districts facing similar threats.

Revisiting Newton, Massachusetts

The special program for limited-English students which I directed from 1980-90 in the Newton, Massachusetts, Public Schools is fully described in Chapter 5 of *Forked Tongue,* pp. 126-141. Newton continues to enjoy its reputation as one of the most prestigious public school districts in the United States, both for the high quality of student achievement and for its commitment to high performance by racial and language minority students. It is worthwhile to describe some of the subtle changes that have occurred in the Newton Bilingual/ESL Program and the new approaches this exemplary district can offer.

Before revisiting the Newton program of today, it is important to answer one criticism about Newton that has been levelled at *Forked Tongue*. It has been stated by the research team of Rossell and Baker that there is no evidence for the claim that the Newton program produces successful outcomes in student achievement, both in rapid English language acquisition and in mastery of school subjects. A little history is in order. In 1985 when Newton received some negative media attention for being out of compliance with Massachusetts bilingual law--not for lack of student achievement but for lack of teaching in the native language--Rossell wrote to Dr. John M. Strand, then Newton school superintendent, and offered to do an evaluation of our program for a research project. I met with Rossell and we explored the possibility, but several problems did not allow us to proceed.

My office collected sufficient data on our population of limited-English students: demographics, academic performance, pre- and post-testing, reading test scores, dropout rates, high school graduation rates, participation in extra-curricular activities. However, we had no control group of similar LEP students receiving a different program in the same school district. In fact, Rossell found that there was no bilingual program in Massachusetts that could be fairly compared with Newton's for a valid study. In pure research terms, Newton could not be the subject of a methodologically acceptable study because we had no comparison group and no random assignment. I must emphasize that neither of these conditions is possible under Massachusetts state law (Chapter 71-A) which requires that no LEP child who is eligible for the services of a transitional bilingual education program be denied those services for any reason, and certainly not for a research study. English as a Second Language or English immersion (the Newton model) programs are neither officially sanctioned nor funded in Massachusetts. Newton routinely reported more data to the Commonwealth Department of Education than was called for because we were eager to show that the Newton alternative model works. The fact that neither Baker nor Rossell has reviewed the Newton data does not prove that Newton does not maintain documented evidence of student success.

Under the direction of Jill McCarthy, program coordinator for the past five years, the Newton program has grown to approximately 500 LEP students from over 2 dozen language backgrounds. The major language groups are speakers of Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Russian, Spanish, Japanese, and Hebrew, with growing populations of Koreans and of Portuguese speakers from Brazil. The Newton

School Committee continues to support the bilingual/ESL program with a handsome budget and good staffing levels, and to emphasize a policy of respect for the rich diversity of languages and cultures in its school community.

More emphasis is placed on the use of the native language in the elementary school program than was the case several years ago and on native language support for academic learning in the middle schools and high schools. When pressed to explain just how classically "bilingual" this program has become, McCarthy notes that it is not a traditional bilingual program in the true sense of the word. For example, the Chinese LEP students are not learning to read and write first in Mandarin and are not taught all their school subjects in the native language first. In fact, it appears the differences between the Newton program of 1990 and today are differences in degree and not in kind. McCarthy has refined and improved the program even further since 1990, with increased attention to teacher training, curriculum development, emphasis on content-based language teaching, and flexibility in meeting the needs of such a varied group of students. As she put it when I asked if the LEP students still represented a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds, "Our students run the gamut from the highly educated student from Russia who has had several years of English but needs to master the American idiom and pronunciation to the underschooled, 15-year old Afghan mail-order bride who has never learned a word of English, and everything in between."

McCarthy is introducing a number of innovations designed to enhance the opportunities for LEP students to maintain their first language and for native English speakers to begin learning another language early. In the middle school, a Russian language and culture elective course and a Chinese language elective are offered for 8th graders: both classes enroll English-speakers with native speakers of those languages. A kindergarten through third grade Spanish language and culture project is in the planning stages and is anticipated to start within the year in six to nine elementary schools. McCarthy is working with the Newton Foreign Language Department to design a literature course in Russian for native speakers. These enrichment courses are valuable for native-born Newtonians and students new to the U.S. alike. But the rock bottom line for the limited-English students in Newton is the early and effective mastery of the English language for academic success and true inclusion in the school community, as it has always been.

According to McCarthy, it takes LEP students two years to achieve the goals of the program, on average, and to work successfully in a mainstream classroom. One piece of research that she has initiated is the collection of data, over the next 3-5 years, to compare the performance of students who are receiving some native language instruction with those who are entirely immersed in the English language program. These groups are split evenly in grades K-6, about 50% in each type of program. The results of this research will add some useful information to the small pool of reliable research in this field.

LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES

Bilingual Education reform has been the focus of relentless activity in California, Massachusetts and New Jersey, with very mixed results, while bills to modify or eliminate bilingual education entirely at the federal level were debated in the fall 1995 session of the U.S. Congress and, in some cases, acted on in early 1996.

Massachusetts Strikes Out--Again

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has seen the introduction of a succession of bills to reform the restrictive state law, Chapter 71-A. Every year since 1986, one or another of these bills has enjoyed a brief moment of public attention, followed by a public hearing at the State House and a hasty vote sending it to oblivion. On January 25, 1995, *An Act Relative to Bilingual Education* was submitted to the legislature by Governor William Weld which included these crucial improvements:

- local choice in program options (TBE, ESL, Two-Way Bilingual, Structured English Immersion)
- informed parental consent before enrolling students in special programs
- district accountability for monitoring and reporting student achievement
- bilingual teacher qualifications requiring fluency and literacy in English as well as another language.

Since the bill had been introduced by the governor, there was reasonable expectation of a successful outcome. Yet, when the hearing on this bill was held on March 30th, the same old scenario of previous years was staged--hundreds of school children were taken out of school and brought to the State House to "demonstrate" against any changes in bilingual education, many of them young students in the primary grades who had no idea why they were there. A reporter for the Boston Herald reported a grim irony on the current state of bilingual education:

> ...hundreds of students in bilingual programs turned out--in the middle of what would have been a school day, we might add--to attend the hearing and protest.

> But the saddest part of all was that most needed to have the hearing translated for them. Yes, high school students--many of them in bilingual programs for years--couldn't understand what was being said. When a Weld administration spokesperson got up to explain the changes being requested, the students applauded his remarks. Moments later, following a brief translation by an accompanying teacher, they booed. (Boston Herald, 4/12/95, 29)

Once again, politicians reacted predictably, partly out of genuine ignorance of the issues and partly out of the cowardice that afflicts elected representatives when an organized interest group shows up in sizable numbers. In spite of testimony in support of the bill from Education Commissioner Robert Antonucci, Secretary of Education Piedad Robertson, and several academic experts, the House summarily voted against change by 124-30 on April 11. (Boston Globe, 4/12/95)

New Jersey Wins Two in '95

The New Jersey legislature voted for two changes in its bilingual education law in 1995, after a year and a half of intense debate. The background to these changes is interesting. For several years, the State Department of Education had granted waivers to local school districts that argued hardship in meeting full-time bilingual program requirements, allowing them to provide some other type of educational help rather than native language instruction. However, in August 1994 the state Attorney General declared the waivers illegal, announcing that all districts must provide full-time bilingual education, unless the law were changed. A number of bills were introduced, with Representative Raul "Rudy" Garcia leading the pro-bilingual camp and Senator Jack Ewing promoting the cause of bilingual education reform.

The first substantial reform bill, granting local program choice if it is justifiable based on local conditions and removing the legal mandate of full-time programs of native language instruction in every district in every language, was enacted in April 1995. On signing the bill, Governor Christine Whitman remarked, "The signing of the waiver bill (S.1474) provides a solution to an immediate and very serious problem. But I consider it only to be an interim measure. I believe that we must now achieve more comprehensive reform of the bilingual education law." (Newark Star Ledger, 4/1/95)

On December 15, 1995, an even more significant measure won approval. The Parental Consent Bill was unanimously passed by the state Senate after winning approval months earlier in the Assembly. Up to this point, New Jersey had been the only state in which the parents of limited-English students did not have the right either to refuse to have their children placed in a bilingual program or to remove their children from bilingual classes for at least three years. The Parental Consent Bill gives parents the option to place their children in an alternative English language program, if they so desire, rather than having them automatically forced into programs where they are segregated by language and culture. Passage of this legislation owes a good deal to the efforts of Dr. Chiara Nappi of the Princeton Regional Board of Education who had argued for years that the New Jersey statute denied parents and children their civil rights. (Nappi, 10/12/94)

I strongly agree with the governor's statement on the need for comprehensive change. I contributed expert assistance in the review of these New Jersey initiatives and provided research materials to legislators, as I have done every year for ten years in Massachusetts. Although there is some measure of satisfaction in the passage of legal reforms, one can be only cautiously optimistic that many districts will be granted waivers. State Education Commissioner Leo Klagholz opposed the local choice legislation and his strong position in favor of native language programs could mean that the granting of waivers will be permitted in very few cases. Such has been the experience in California where, although the bilingual education law actually expired in 1987, only 20 of the 1000 school districts have permission to provide an alternative, English-language based program.

California - The Textbook Case

As mentioned earlier, the California Department of Education has pressured local districts to continue native language instruction programs even in the absence of a state law requiring such programs. This has been the continuing struggle for reform advocates in California: how to overcome an entrenched bureaucracy that dictates curriculum and testing standards to local districts and enforces its dictates through the power of public funds.

Two acts were drafted to change the education code in regard to bilingual education in 1995: Assembly Bill 955 (Member Knight) and Assembly Bill 1041 (Member Alpert). When I was invited to critique the two bills early in the year, bilingual education reform in California looked more promising than at any time since 1987. The basic provisions of either AB 955 or AB 1041 could make a major turnaround in the education of 1.2 million California school children--if enacted by the legislature and implemented by the State Department of Education.

In fact, enacting the legislation may be the easier part of the reform agenda. The harder part is crafting the bill carefully enough to keep the State Department of Education from thwarting the bill's purposes. It has not been possible so far to curb the power of this agency to intimidate school districts into providing unwanted and ineffective programs by falsely invoking federal and civil rights strictures. Neither the Lau decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, nor federal laws on education and civil rights requires native language instruction--the stated intent is and always has been the removal of the language barrier to an equal education, by any sensible means.

AB 1041 had these crucial provisions:

- repeal of the 1976 Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act
- authorization by law of local program choice, so long as "it has as its goal the development of proficiency in English for each pupil..."
- strict accountability for student achievement
- parental notification and parental right to accept or reject placement of students in special programs.

AB 955 focused on these elements:

- denial of power to the Department of Education to dictate which method to use in teaching LEP students
- local responsibility in designing programs
- school district accountability for measuring student progress in English language learning and academic achievement
- 3-year limit on special programs for LEP students; other remedial services may be applied beyond that time
- funding provided to each district according to number of LEP students, not based on enrollment in a particular type of program.

After reviewing both bills, I believed that either one would make sorely needed changes in California. Alas, AB 1041 was handed over to the bilingual bureaucracy for comment in June and what emerged was an unrecognizable pastiche that would have ensured retention of the status quo. One outrageous provision of the revised bill was that any school district operating what is labelled an "innovative instructional services program" must demonstrate within a few years that at least 75% of the students are making adequate progress in English language development and academic achievement, comparable to their English-speaking peers. No such standard is held for bilingual programs! The revised AB 1041 could not muster support and was withdrawn. The Knight bill (AB 955) went into hibernation and was reintroduced in early 1996.

Why is state legislation necessary, in the absence of a bilingual education law? To eliminate the remnants of the expired 1976 Chacon-Moscone bill and to spell out in concrete terms what the rights and obligations of school districts, teachers, parents and students are, and what limits on the state education agency are in regard to special efforts for limited-English students.

The California Teachers' Association Urges Reform

One new and powerful ally has joined the bilingual education reform movement--the California Teachers' Association (CTA). For the first time, a teachers' union has withdrawn its unqualified support and is publicly attacking the abuses of bilingual education programs. "Bilingual debate gets sidetracked by self-interests," noted the union newsletter, *CTA Action,* in May 1995. Considering that teachers' unions, led by the National Education Association, have routinely paid lip service to bilingual education, one hopes that the CTA stance is truly a declaration of independence from doctrinaire positions and that other teachers' organizations will take note.

New Policy from California State Board of Education

On July 14, 1995, the California State Board of Education announced a new policy in educating language minority children. Two major changes are emphasized--more concern for results in student achievement than in teaching methods, and the removal of the "preference" for primary language instruction by allowing maximum flexibility to local districts to choose their own program. Both of these changes, if enforced, will lead to dramatic changes in the adoption of English language programs. The Superintendent of Public Instruction, Delaine Eastin, vows that her bilingual staff will be reorganized, if necessary, to fortify the department's commitment to local control. (L. A. Times, 7/14/95)

If Eastin's new policy is not enforced, threats of litigation against the State Department of Education are already being discussed in several cities. The Westminster district is applying for the option of providing an entirely English immersion program, for which permission has been granted to only 20 out of 1,000 California districts. This appeal could force the first test of the Education Department's commitment to change. (L.A. Times 7/14/95) Social changes seem to sweep across the country from west to east with California initiating and leading the movements. One hopes this particular reform effort will be sustained and will spread to other states.

Federal Initiatives

Until the fall 1994 election that swept in so many new congressmen, the Bilingual Education Act--Title VII--had suffered few serious budget reductions. The federal budget for the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) rose to its highest level, $155 million in 1995, since its modest $7.5 million start in 1968. But the budget-balancing, cost-cutting ways of the new majority rescinded $38 million of the 1995 funds in August 1995, and Congress is in the process of reducing drastically the 1996 funding. From a budget of $195 million requested for 1996, the House appropriations bill passed in August reduces that amount to $53 million; the Senate bill proposed cutting the budget to $122 million. Differences in the two bills were to be resolved in conference.

One important amendment (S.1513/H.R.6) was added to the 1994 education appropriations bill by Senator Larry Pressler and passed in the Senate by a vote of 100-0. This amendment requires that bilingual teachers be fluent in English as well as in another language! That it would take a congressional action to make this clear must be amazing to people unfamiliar with the politics of bilingual education, who might well ask, "Doesn't bilingual mean two languages?" It is a documented fact that "bilingual" teachers in California, Texas and Massachusetts are sometimes native speakers of Spanish with little or no knowledge of English. Luis Fuentes, a professor at the University of Massachusetts School of Education in the 1970s actually stated in a seminar that "bilingual means Spanish"!

Efforts to modify, redirect or entirely dismantle bilingual education at the federal level have been in the works for years. A convergence of circumstances bodes well for this reform effort. The recent publication of new studies confirming poor results for bilingual programs, the increasing popularity of the concept of English as the official language of the U.S., the importance to immigrant children of learning English to enter the mainstream society, the mood of the new congress to cast a skeptical eye on social programs of dubious value, and the budget crunch--taken together, these factors spell change. Two legislative initiatives on bilingual education were introduced in October 1995, the King bill (H.R. 1005) and the Roth Bill (H.R. 739), both of which abolish the Office of Bilingual Education and bilingual voting ballots. Both bills are tied to the official English language movement, which is discussed in the next section.

Federal support for OBEMLA since 1968 has not been large in dollar amounts but has played an important role, symbolically, in legitimizing bilingual education. The disproportionate investment and the continual emphasis on native language instruction have had a strong impact on state legislation and local district implementation. Changing the course of the federal role in this area of public education to a neutral one or completely eliminating Washington's role in favor of state and local control are the two extremes. Since change at the federal level is inevitable, the only uncertainty is the extent of the reform in the near future.

OFFICIAL ENGLISH MOVEMENT

The campaign to make English the official language of government in the U.S. has been aggressively waged in the past few years. In 1990 I reported that 16 states had official English laws (*Forked Tongue*, 207-220); since then five more have joined their ranks: Alabama, Arizona, Montana, New Hampshire, and South Dakota. A majority of voters approved the official English referendum in Maryland but it was vetoed by the governor. Official English campaigns are active at this time in Connecticut, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, largely through the efforts of U.S. English, the largest and best known organization connected with this issue.

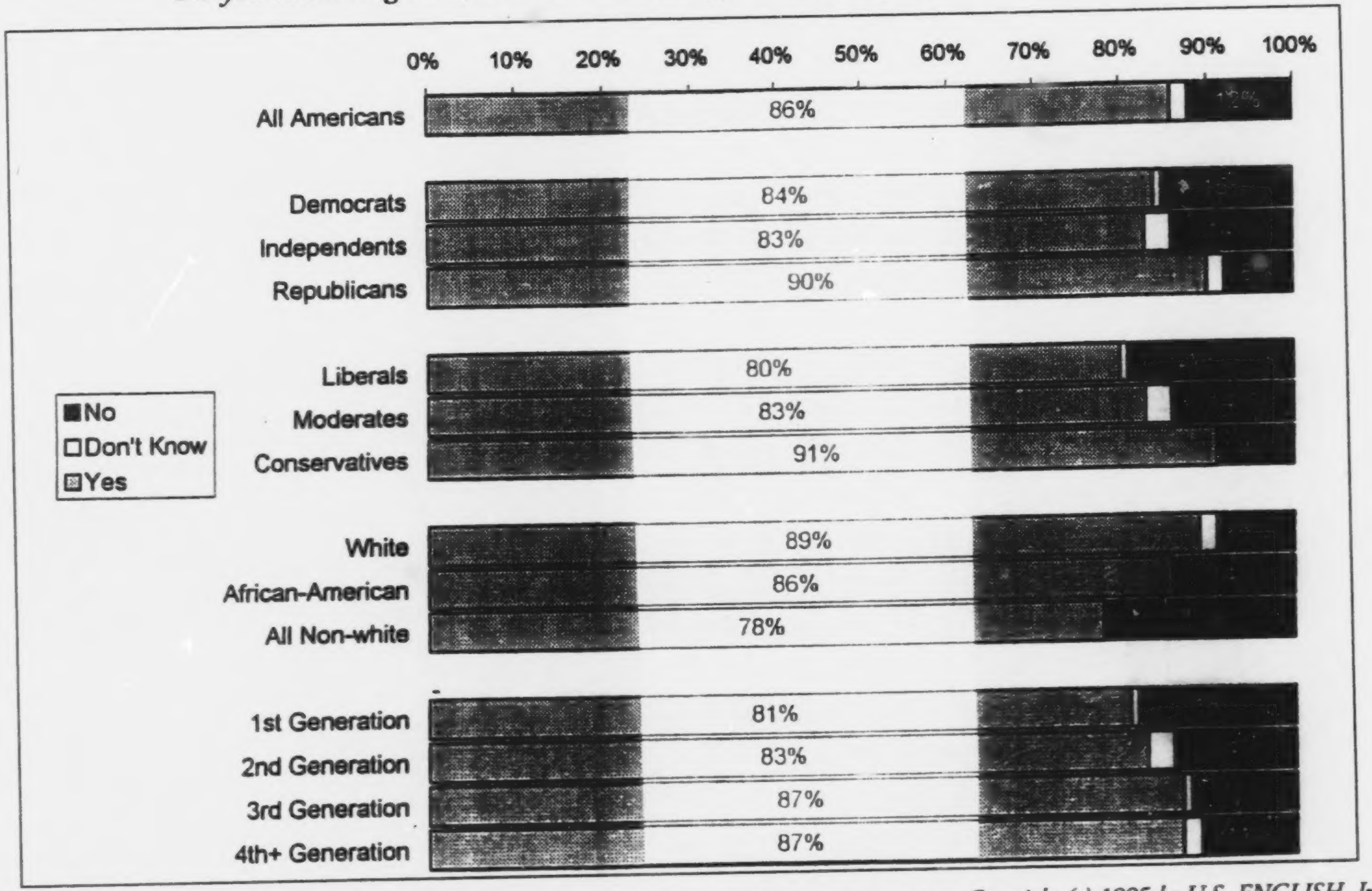
The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico voted Spanish its official language, arousing concerns that if Puerto Rico voted for statehood in the 1993 election, the U.S. would be in the delicate position of having one state out of 51 with an official language other than English (a situation not unlike Canada vis-à-vis Quebec). The issue was nullified when the citizens of Puerto Rico voted in favor of retaining commonwealth status.

To most people, the very idea that English is not already the official language of this country is shocking. State referenda on the language issue consistently receive overwhelmingly high voter support, even in states like California (73%) and Florida (84%) which have the highest proportions of new immigrants in the country and where the ballots are printed in several languages. Surveys conducted in thirteen states by U.S. English between 1993 and 1995 reported positive support averaging around 81%, from a high of 91% in Oklahoma to 71% in Wisconsin. Tables 4 and 5 provide two representations of the attitudes across the United States on the official language issue.

Table 4 - U.S.ENGLISH/LUNTZ SURVEY RESULTS

Interviewers at the Luntz Research Companies asked 1,208 Americans:

"Do you think English should be made the official language of the United States?"



**Survey was taken between August 2-6, 1995. Margin of error is plus or minus 2.8 percentage points. Copyright (c) 1995 by U.S. ENGLISH, Inc.*

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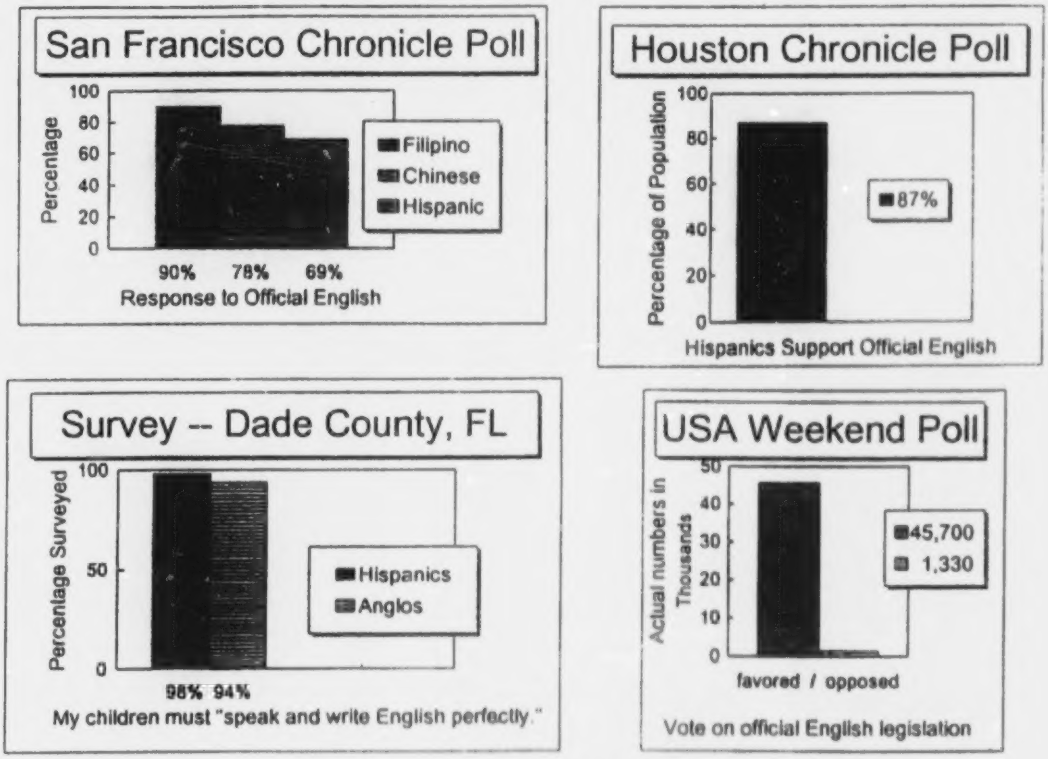
Table 5
America on Official English: Recent Surveys



(Reprint permission for Table 5 is granted by English First, Springfield, Virginia)

Federal Activity

At the federal level, the introduction of Official English legislation or an English Language Amendment elicited a ho-hum reaction in the 1980s, but with the 1994 changes in the make-up of congress the outlook for positive action has improved considerably. Politicians have been way behind the curve on this issue, in spite of the high voter support in state after state for Official English. Suddenly, the two most powerful congressional leaders have dared to take public positions--Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich in his book, *To Renew America*, and Senate Majority Leader and presidential candidate Robert Dole in a significant speech (September 5, 1995). Dole emphasized the importance of a common language, "English is the language in which we still speak to each other across the frontiers of culture and race....[Ensuring] that all our citizens are fluent in English is a welcoming act of inclusion." (Washington Post, 9/12/95) He called for making English language classes available to new immigrants of all ages, a positive suggestion which is almost never mentioned. Furthermore, Dole went on to criticize bilingual education, stating that "fluency in English should be a central educational goal of every state" and that multilingual education should be abandoned, "not employed as a means of instilling ethnic pride or as therapy for low self-esteem." (Washington Post)

The official language issue and bilingual education may very well be among the debating points in a presidential election campaign, for the first time, in 1996.

Three bills were introduced in the House of Representatives for hearings in the October session, and the main provisions of each is described in the chart that follows:

Table 6
Official English Legislation 1995: A Side-By-Side Comparison

Rep. Bill Emerson (R-Mo.)	**Rep. Toby Roth (R-Wis.)**	**Rep. Pete King (R-N.Y.)**
The Language of Government Act of 1995: **H.R. 123** – A bill to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the government of the U.S. (Introduced 1/4/95)	***Declaration of Official Language Act of 1995:*** **H.R. 739** – A bill to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the government of the U.S. (Introduced 1/30/95)	***National Language Act of 1995:*** **H.R. 1005** – A bill to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the U.S., and for other purposes. (Introduced 2/21/95)
194 Co-sponsors	**94 Co-sponsors**	**36 Co-sponsors**
■ **EXEMPTIONS:** Use of languages other than English for public health and safety, foreign language instruction, judicial proceedings, and tourism.	■ **EXEMPTIONS:** Religion, training in foreign languages for international communication, and use of non-English terms of art in government documents.	■ **EXEMPTIONS:** Religion, training in foreign languages for communication programs designed to encourage students to learn foreign languages, and persons over 62 years of age.
■ **DOES NOT:** Infringe on individual rights, nor does it prevent the use of languages other than English outside the government.	■ **ABOLISHES:** Bilingual education and bilingual ballots.	■ **ABOLISHES:** Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs, and bilingual ballots.
■ **REQUIRES:** English be the sole language used to declare policies, write laws and regulations, and make and enforce official acts.	■ **REQUIRES:** – Government promote use of English for communications among U.S. citizens (implies private sector); – Communications by officers and employees of U.S. government with U.S. citizens be in English; – All naturalization ceremonies be conducted solely in English; and – Government to enforce English proficiency standard for immigration.	■ **REQUIRES:** – All citizenship ceremonies be conducted in English; – Federal documents and publications be printed only in English; and – Recaptured funds (granted under Bilingual Education Act and not yet expended before enactment of Act) be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.
■ **RECOMMENDS:** Savings derived by the Federal government from enactment of this act be used to teach English to non-English proficient individuals.		

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Hearings were held on the three bills in the fall 1995 session of the U.S. House of Representatives on October 18th and November 1st by the Early Childhood, Youth and Families Subcommittee of the House Economic and Education Opportunities Committee. The first hearing was geared toward learning about the issue itself and did not focus on any one bill in particular, with testimony given only by Members of Congress. The second hearing had the same focus, but invited testimony from the general public: several speakers, including the Chairman of the Board of U.S.English, Mauro E. Mujica, and Linda Chavez, President of the Center for Equal Opportunity, spoke in favor of a common language; Edward Chen of the American Civil Liberties Union spoke against it.

On December 6th the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee held a public hearing on S. 356, the companion bill to H.R. 123 of Rep. Emerson. This is the only common language bill currently before the Senate. Several legislators testified for the bill, including Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL), the sponsor, and Representative Toby Roth (R-WI), as did a number of citizens. Although opponents had been invited to testify, they chose not to do so.

One additional bill was heard in January 1996, H.R. 351 sponsored by Representative John Porter (R-IL), the "Bilingual Voting Requirements Repeal Act of 1995." This bill amends the Voting Rights Act of 1975 which requires voting information and ballots to be printed in another language if there are sufficient voters in one county of the same language classification (5%) who request it. Aside from the question of why bilingual ballots are necessary, given the fact that non-native-born persons must live in the U.S. for five years and demonstrate basic knowledge of English before becoming voting citizens, there are other serious problems with this enterprise.

The costs of providing bilingual ballots are quite high: for example, in the 1992 election, the city of Los Angeles spent $125,250 on bilingual voting materials that were used by 927 people. The city budgeted an additional $297,000 for the 1994 election in order to print ballots in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, Tagalog and Korean. In Hawaii, a state which has two official languages--Hawaiian and English--translation of voting materials in one election in 1992 cost the state $40,000. Two voters used the materials in the primary, and two in the general election, perhaps the same two. (Eng. First document, 1995) The other large problem is the accuracy of translations. In a 1993 election in New York City, it was reported that "the city erroneously printed the Chinese character for 'no' as a translation for the word 'yes'" on one set of ballots. (NY Times, 8/14/94)

The Players

The activist organizations generating the various efforts to make English the official language of government in the U.S. are independent and feisty about their own turf. U.S. English, under the recent leadership of Chilean immigrant, Mauro Mujica, reports a growing membership of 600,000, and invests heavily in promoting state referenda and federal legislation. Mujica's organization takes the most moderate stand on bilingual education, advocating strongly for local choice in English language programs and for reforming bilingual education at the state and federal levels. His organization supports the Emerson bill on official English which does not mention bilingual education, stating that "it is easier to pass legislation with one goal rather than several--that is why the Emerson bill has a better future and has gathered 182 co-signers." (Personal communication, 9/11/95).

English First, the other national organization involved in the official language movement, concentrates its efforts in the area of federal legislation. Their main goal, in addition to establishing official English legislation, is abolishing bilingual education. The director, Jim Boulet, was quoted in the Washington Times (7/9/95) as saying, "[the Emerson bill] doesn't do anything. It takes as much work to pass a bad bill as it does to pass a good bill, and you need one that really solves the problem."

In California, Stanley Diamond heads an organization called California English Advocates whose activities are concentrated on legislative and bureaucratic change to reform bilingual education in that state.

Arizonans for Official English, headed by Robert Park, waged a successful campaign to win voter support in a state referendum in 1988, only to have the law challenged, within hours after the election, in a major court case, Yniguez v. Arizonans for Official English. Mr. Park is the leading activist in the newly constituted English Language Advocates, an organization mainly concerned with supporting an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in the Yniguez case.

Courts Consider Challenges to English

Although there have been many court cases related to official English in recent years, two that have had the greatest impact on the movement are the Spun Steak case and the Yniguez case.

In 1990, the Spun Steak Company in San Francisco, California, established a work rule banning on-the-job conversation in languages other than English. Shortly thereafter, a group of workers filed a federal civil rights suit, and an injunction preventing the company from implementing the rule was imposed. A federal appeals court ruled in 1993 that the decision did not violate the civil rights of bilingual or Hispanic workers. This decision was then appealed by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunities Commission on behalf of the workers, but in 1994 the U.S. Supreme Court decided to let the lower court's ruling stand. It appears, then, that in private enterprise, employers can require that English be spoken in the workplace, in the interests of communication and worker morale.

The suit against the State of Arizona brought on behalf of Maria-Kelly Yniguez alleged that the official English law of that state (voted by referendum in 1988) violated her First and Fourteenth Amendment rights. Ms. Yniguez was a first-year law student in 1988, employed by the State to evaluate medical claims against it. She had authority to settle claims of less than $10,000. Although competent in both English and Spanish, Yniguez would draft official documents in Spanish and knowingly admitted that her supervisor would not be able to read them. Her response, when asked why she did this was, "It's a solidarity thing." She claimed she could express some elements of malpractice claims in Spanish which are impossible in English. Yniguez noted that inexpressible concepts include her cultural heritage as a Hispanic, the sense of community and experiences shared by Hispanics, "and other feelings." (R. Park document, 1995)

In 1990 the federal court in Arizona found in her favor, ruling that she had a First Amendment right to use Spanish in her government agency work, knowing that neither her supervisor nor the auditing agency could read it. The governor of Arizona declined to appeal the decision. At that point, Robert Park, since he was the nominal head of the group that had mounted the Arizona English campaign, petitioned the court for standing to appeal the decision. His petition was denied there, but he took his case to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals which agreed to hear an appeal.

What Park is appealing is a set of new rights defined by the Arizona court that have never been in the U.S. Constitution: (1) that the choice of which language state employees choose to use in their workplace is protected by the First Amendment, (2) that governmental services must be provided in any other language if it is "normal" and the claimants wish it, (3) and that non-English-speaking persons have a right to "receive" government information in a language other than English.

As the Ninth District Court of Appeals covers a jurisdiction including Hawaii, Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Montana and Guam, the ruling in this case affects a wide area of the country. But its impact will go beyond the geographic area as it has relevance for challenges to the use of English for government purposes in all states and, therefore, to the legality of the official English laws in 22 states. The Ninth District Court of Appeals voted to hear this case *en banc*, that is, before a panel of eleven judges (out of 8,000 cases heard in 1994, only a dozen were selected for *en banc* hearings). It was heard on July 20, 1995 and the decision was announced on October 5: by a 6-5 split decision the court ruled in favor of Yniguez, declaring Article XXVIII of the Arizona constitution (official English law) to be illegal. Judge Stephen Reinhardt, writing for the majority, concluded that Arizona's official language law violated a government employee's First Amendment right of free speech by preventing the employee from writing government documents in any language he or she preferred. Judge Alex Kozinski, in a minority opinion, commented on the broad new language rights conferred on government employees by this decision, "Almost everything government does involves a communication of some sort, and those charged with carrying out government functions sometimes disagree with what they are ordered to say or do... Today's decision [gives] bureaucrats the right to turn every policy disagreement into a federal lawsuit, arguing that their First Amendment free-speech rights take precedence." (National Review, 11/6/95)

This decision of the Ninth Circuit Court not only strikes down the will of the people of Arizona in a free election, but it opens a much broader question: if government cannot prescribe the language in which its employees are to do their work, can it require conformity on any other workplace policies? The case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court on December 20, 1995 by petitioner Robert Park. Joining the appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court with Amicus briefs are the following: 39 members of the Arizona legislature, the Claremont Institute, the Equal Opportunity Foundation, the Pacific Legal Foundation, U.S. Inc., the Washington Legal Foundation, and 18 members of the U.S. Congress. (Private communication, Barnaby W. Zall, Counsel for Petitioner, 1/22/96)

The Anti-Official English Line-Up

English Plus, an organization promoting equality of all languages, has introduced legislation in several states. These resolutions are not legally binding and, in general, simply encourage the use of diverse languages. Such resolutions have been adopted in New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington state, through the efforts of the ACLU, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), The National Council for La Raza, and TESOL, the professional organization for teachers of English to speakers of other languages. Ironically, not one organization working for official English is opposed to the use or study of other languages. In fact, in many cases, the leaders of these groups are themselves fluently bilingual, as are their families.

The main accomplishment of the anti-Official English movement has been to label it firmly as "English Only," a pejorative label implying that no other languages may be spoken or studied in this country if the legislation succeeds, which, of course, is not the case.

SUMMING IT UP

Returning to the main themes of the first edition of *Forked Tongue*, I am cautiously optimistic in reporting the changes and improvements of the past five years. Many advances have been made in the public visibility of the plight of language minority students in our schools, in the increased willingness of school districts to strike out in new directions, in the expanded research base on educational alternatives. More is generally understood about the myriad factors that affect second language learning and academic achievement besides the school program--age, personality, motivation, family aspirations, culture, parents' educational level, family transiency, socioeconomic status. There will never be one school program that fits all language minority children in all school districts.

The most encouraging signs are in the individual classrooms and the school districts where bilingual programs are being supplanted, either openly or covertly, by special English language instruction. This practice is gaining converts and legitimacy as it becomes more widely understood that bilingual teaching is not helping students gain the essential skills for literacy and mastery of school subjects.

For several years the professional organization for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) has worked on developing the goals of English language instruction for pre-kindergarten through grade 12 in the United States. The document defining the major goals and establishing the standards for successful mastery of the goals will be published in April 1996. A brief preview indicates that the goals are eminently sensible and could be accomplished, in my opinion, in 1-3 years by the average LEP child, provided attention is focused immediately and intensively on immersion in the English language :

- learning to use English to communicate in social situations
- learning to use English to achieve academically in all school content areas, i.e., learning subject matter taught in English
- learning to use English in socially and culturally appropriate ways.

These goals cannot be met by LEP students either easily or quickly if native languages are the medium of instruction, and I state this with conviction as an indisputable fact.

The least encouraging sign is the political stranglehold on the public dialogue that is still powerfully weighted towards the status quo--loyal support for bilingual education. "Doing the right (politically correct) thing" is still the fashion. Self-righteous advocates for bilingual education, together with their well-meaning but often uninformed professional colleagues, publicly attack any deviation from the party line. Two brief examples, out of many that I could cite, make the point.

At the international TESOL Convention in Baltimore in March 1994, I attended a panel discussion with a large audience, and was startled to hear Dr. Jim Cummins, well-known proponent of native language teaching programs, state: "There is a growing anti-immigrant sentiment in this country, negative attitudes against other languages and against bilingual programs and it is being helped along by people like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Diane Ravitch and Rosalie Porter." When I was given an opportunity to comment, I confronted Dr. Cummins with this statement, "I am Rosalie Porter and I object to your characterization of my positions. I am familiar with the writings of Schlesinger and Ravitch and know that they have never expressed anti-immigrant sentiments, nor have I. I am an immigrant. I am fluent in three languages. I am proud of the multilingual, multiethnic makeup of this country. Yes, I am a critic of bilingual education programs but that does not make me an opponent of bilingualism." Dr. Cummins' limp response was, "Thank you for clarifying things."

More recently, on September 18, 1995, a conference was organized in the Capital Building, Washington, DC, on "The Future of Bilingual Education," by the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO), headed by Linda Chavez, a long-time critic of bilingual education. A nation-wide search was made to invite scholars, teachers and parents, who have taken positions for and against bilingual education, to participate in panel discussions to which congressmen, staffers, and the media were invited. To a man (and woman!), CEO was turned down by advocates for bilingual education--Steven Krashen, Virginia Collier, James Crawford, to name a few. Instead, the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus organized a counter conference on the same day, at an earlier hour, thus depriving the two camps of any opportunity to engage in civilized discourse.

From its inception, bilingual education has not embraced diversity of educational ideas but rather fostered fierce protection of a single dogma, a panacea that failed. The conclusions I expounded when *Forked Tongue* was first published in 1990, based on practical experience as a non-English speaking child, a teacher, and a school administrator--those conclusions have been validated and reinforced many times over in my research and program advisory work of recent years and by the hundreds of educators and parents who have voiced their agreement. The high tide mark for native language instruction programs has crested and appears to be receding before a swelling new wave of rational, sensible, varied educational efforts on behalf of limited-English students. One must fervently hope that substantial improvements are soon to be made in the schooling of these children whose participation in the mainstream life of our country as knowledgeable, productive citizens is an urgent necessity.

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THE BILINGUAL AND COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAM OF THE DEARBORN SCHOOLS, MICHIGAN: A MODEL FOR SYSTEMIC CHANGE AND INTEGRATION OF SERVICES.*

Shereen Arraf, Ph.D.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CONTEXT

Dearborn is located in the Metropolitan Detroit area, Michigan (population of 100,000). It has twenty-six elementary schools, five middle schools, and three high schools. In the low-income section of the city, poverty and limited-English proficiency levels in individual schools range between 29-89%, qualifying seventeen schools for bilingual/ESL education and eight schools for Title 1 services. In total there are approximately 5,000 students eligible for ESL/bilingual education services, the majority of whom are eligible for Title 1 services as well.

About 29% of the school population qualifies for free or reduced-fee lunch. However, 87.8% of these students are enrolled in eight elementary and two middle schools located in one section of the city where the level of low income in the schools ranges between 42-73%. This school year 33% of the students are limited-English proficient (LEP).

Background Information on the LEP Population and Their Families

Foreign-born persons make up 16% of the city's population, and over a third of those arrived in the United States during the past ten years. In the lower income section of the city, 82% are foreign born, coming almost exclusively from Middle Eastern countries where Arabic is the spoken and written language.

90% of LEP students come from Arabic-speaking homes. Their parents are first-generation immigrants who have a wide array of challenges and problems with

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* I would like to acknowledge the contribution of two resource teachers, Maura Sedgeman and Marcie Fayz, whose review of and comments on this article were especially useful. I am deeply thankful to the Bilingual and Compensatory Education staff, my fellow administrators and parents. Their cooperative spirit, dedication to quality education, and continuing inquiry were instrumental in bringing about the successful systemic and integrated services now available to all students.

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which to cope, including illiteracy in both their native language and English (33%), unemployment (30%), and acculturation to the new homeland.

As with many recent immigrants, members of the language-minority population often find temporary and short-term employment in neighborhood or family establishments and do not receive unemployment compensation benefits. However, the official unemployment rate for the target area has been estimated at around 30%, and is typical of a population with limited-English proficiency.

The parents' limited proficiency in English, coupled with their poor economic situation, impedes their ability to provide academic reinforcement and homework assistance, responsive discipline, stimulating games and instructional activities that are needed to develop the linguistic potential of their children.

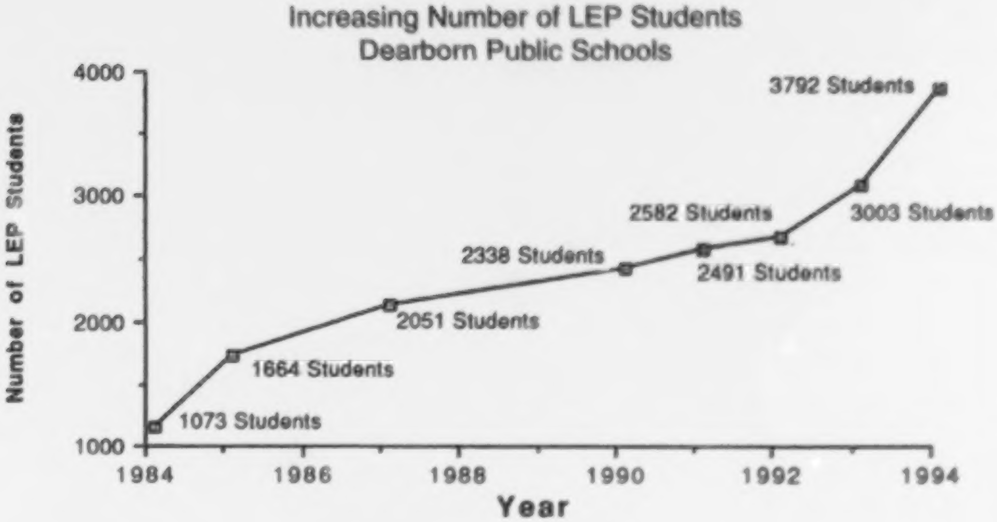
The Dearborn Public Schools' Adult ESL education program currently offers 55 ESL classes; with an enrollment of more than 3500 clients, these classes still cannot serve all potential students, as is made evident by a waiting list of persons who want to take English or adult education classes. Several assessments of this community's needs (Kulwicki, 1988; Luna 1988; and Arraf, 1992) indicate that English language assistance and helping their children to be good students ranked consistently as the highest identified needs by the community.

The most recent and comprehensive study (Arraf, 1992) gives strong evidence for the interest and concern shown by Arab-American parents for their children's education and for their desire to be good parents. According to the survey results, a randomly selected sample of parents overwhelmingly (85.4%) responded that both they and their children needed and wanted more educational services and more information and parent training about child rearing practices. As further evidence that these families are focused on their children as their best hope to improve their own and their community's future, they expressed the need for money for toys and other items for the children above their needs for food, medical care, special equipment or baby-sitters. Respondents wanted information on how better to communicate with their children's teachers, and on the entire structure and process of American education.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BILINGUAL/ESL PROGRAM

Since the late seventies, there has been a significant increase in Arabic-speaking immigrants who have sought a more secure home with relatives in Dearborn, MI. Also, there has been a significant growth in the Romanian and Albanian student population as a result of the Bosnian War (see Table 1).

Table 1



In order to expand supplemental services provided by the district to LEP students, several Title VII grant awards have been sought and granted since the summer of 1976, just before the arrival of the largest influx of Arabic-speaking refugees. Since then the number of students eligible for bilingual services has increased from 218 in 1976 to around 4,500 in the 1995/96 school year.

In 1992-93, and based on a needs assessment of LEP students conducted by the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Office, the program expanded to include additional bilingual/ESL staff. Intensive staff development services have been provided through on-site monitoring efforts, properly modeled research-based instruction, guidance, and a collaboration with universities for the completion of bilingual endorsement or ESL coursework and teacher certification (career ladder) for paraprofessionals.

Each school year, the bilingual program is assessed internally by the departmental staff, paraprofessionals, and school principals through monthly meetings. Parents are encouraged to provide input through the quarterly meetings between the program coordinator, community liaison, and staff on the one hand and the Parent Advisory Council (PAC) on the other. Recommendations are implemented promptly. There is an ongoing evaluation of program effectiveness, impact of staff development, and parent involvement activities as well. In addition, an outside monitor provides an annual comprehensive evaluation including a close examination of students' progress in the academic subject areas as well as in English language acquisition.

Description of the LEP Student Population

The Dearborn Public Schools has over 6,500 minority students, 58% of whom are limited-English proficient whose families settled in Dearborn in the last decade. Districtwide percentage of LEP students in elementary schools is 40%, with 25% and 19% in the middle and high schools respectively. This number of LEP students becomes significantly higher if we consider the fact that these students reside in the lower-income side of the city where the percentage of LEP students in the schools ranges between 40-90%. This number of LEP students is consistent with the number of low-income students as determined by free and reduced lunch counts. The increased enrollment resulted in the building of a new elementary school (Becker) in 1993, and the construction of another elementary school (Miller) that will be open for the 1996-97 school year.

A PARADIGM SHIFT IN SERVICE DELIVERY

Services for this target population in Dearborn have undergone major administrative and philosophical changes due to the merger of the Bilingual Department, the Title 1 Department, and the Early Childhood program in 1993. These programs are now incorporated under one bilingual coordinator, and the department is referred to as the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department.

The formation of the new Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department has resulted in a pooling of resources and expertise to better serve Dearborn's students. Appropriate instruction is delivered by the following personnel: one districtwide resource teacher/curriculum specialist, forty-five bilingual/ESL classroom teachers, twelve bilingual/ESL resource teachers, forty bilingual paraprofessionals, thirty Title 1 paraprofessionals, fifteen bilingual-Title 1 paraprofessionals, two bilingual-Title 1 teachers, eleven Title 1 resource teachers, and eleven preschool teachers. Other support personnel include a bilingual Title 1 parent/community liaison, one Title VII bilingual parent educator, one preschool community/parent liaison, and three secretaries, one of whom is bilingual.

The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department provides bilingual/ESL services to all three high schools, all five middle schools, and fourteen elementary schools. Title 1 services are provided to three middle schools and eight elementary buildings. A common vision and philosophy has been created as a result of a series of needs assessments, inservice training, and brainstorming sessions.

1. Program Philosophy

Dearborn Schools Mission Statement: "The mission of Dearborn Public Schools, in cooperation with home and community, is to prepare all students to become contributing citizens in a changing society by providing a challenging curriculum and high expectations to develop knowledge, skills, self-esteem and a sense of personal and social responsibility."

The program adopted the philosophy that LEP and other "at risk" students need acceleration, not remediation, in order to perform at levels appropriate to their age group by the end of the elementary, middle or high school. The process of program integration yielded the following philosophical beliefs :

All children can achieve academic success and language competencies when we as educators:

- Identify and focus on students' strengths to accelerate their potential
- Acknowledge and build upon home background and prior knowledge
- Assist students in the acculturation process while developing respect and appreciation for the diverse cultures represented in our community
- Perceive the child as a whole
- Promote English language acquisition and development
- Create true partnerships between school and family
- Maximize students' abilities in the cognitive/linguistic, social and emotional domains
- Provide student and family-centered schools
- Match teaching styles with students' learning styles and modalities
- Utilize social interaction integrating listening, speaking, reading, writing, viewing, thinking, and presenting.

The reformed common goals that have been developed in order to accelerate LEP students' content and performance standards are aligned with Michigan State standards (PA 25, 335 and 339) which, in turn, mirror Goals 2000.

2. Prerequisites for the Integrated Program

Shared vision and focused efforts have gradually led to the implementation of an integrated delivery model. Components that are essential to success include the following prerequisites:

- Strong and skilled leadership (superintendent, central office administrators, principals, board of education)

- Strong partnership among all staff members in each school (regular, bilingual/ESL, Title 1, special education, and support staff)

- Strong coalitions and consortia among schools
- Flexibility and willingness to change
- Common mission and purpose
- Cultural awareness and inclusiveness of diverse groups
- Sound instructional techniques based on current educational research
- Continuous and systemic professional development
- Strong partnership between schools and home.

3. Program Goals in Light of Goals 2000

The program goals of the Dearborn Public Schools Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department (Fig. 1) stem from the philosophy that all children can attain English language competencies and academic success. By setting high standards and expectations, the program accelerates the education of students towards Goals 2000 and beyond.

Figure 1
Dearborn Public Schools
Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program Goals

- Assist students in becoming independent and life-long strategic learners.
- Teach language competencies through content area instruction.
- Emphasize metacognitive approaches and higher order thinking processes.
- Provide an integrated nurturing curriculum that synthesizes aesthetic values and appreciation for life.
- Move from remediation to acceleration by having high expectations, and providing students with early and successful academic and social experiences.
- Assist students and their families in the process of acculturation to the American school system and American society and culture.
- Help students understand other cultures and develop a solid ground for building relations among various ethnic groups in the community.
- Provide an instructional delivery model that is based on sound research as well as practitioners' methodology incorporating deductive approaches.
- Keep staff abreast of research-based linguistically and culturally appropriate instructional and parent involvement approaches.

PROGRAM DESIGN

In order to accomplish program goals, the Bilingual and Compensatory Education coordinator conducted a needs assessment survey engaging principals, bilingual/ESL and Title 1 resource teachers, classroom teachers, paraprofessionals, parents, and community leaders. The survey team explored innovative research-based ideas for instruction, professional development, assessment, parent involvement, and community partnerships. A strategic plan was developed with an ongoing assessment and evaluation component.

The department's strategic reform plan has been successfully and systematically evolving as is evident from a yearly review process and feedback from students, staff and parents. The program is currently solidifying the new system, drawing upon internal and external human expertise and financial resources. Surveys conducted by the Bilingual and Compensatory Education department of building administrators, teachers, paraprofessionals, and parents, yielded positive reviews. Results indicate that this new infrastructure is leading to systemic reform.

1. Facilitating Factors for District/School Plans

Several facilitating factors and step-by-step procedures have moved the department's plan toward districtwide systemic reform. The Department:

- Involved and sought support from Bilingual and Compensatory Education state directors and county consultants. They were continuously informed of the new developments and the ongoing changes that took place while the program was evolving
- Presented need and new direction to the Board of Education
- Met with principals whose schools qualified for bilingual and Title 1 services on a monthly basis to discuss needs and brainstorm solutions
- Visited other districts and states that had existing collaborative designs
- Selected a committee at the district level to develop a district plan. Involved school administrators, curriculum specialists, representatives from colleges and universities, community leaders, parents, district administrators, and teachers. At the same time, schools selected school improvement committees that had school, community and parent representatives. Both Title 1 and bilingual staff are active members of these committees
- Acted as agents and advocates for all students
- Met with each building administrator and staff member to present district plan and guidelines and to shape the plan (needs assessment, strategic plan) for each school.

2. Eligibility Criteria for Program Services

a. Student Identification

To be eligible for the program services, a student must satisfy the following criteria:

1. A language other than English is spoken regularly in the home of a child (PreK-12) as indicated on "Home Language Survey."
2. The child (grades 3-12) fails to score above the 40th percentile on standardized tests assessing proficiency in the English language (speaking, listening, reading and writing) or in math.

Dearborn Public Schools' eligibility criteria and procedures concerning special language assistance for language minority students are based on:

1. Quality and equity in education implemented for all students -- Dearborn Board of Education and Administration Philosophy.
2. Lau Compliance Plan of 1979.
3. Michigan State Law Public Act 294 - following State Administrative Rules that govern the identification of students of limited-English Proficiency.
4. Parent input on implementation of a quality program as expressed by the Parent Advisory Council (PAC).

The process of identifying language minority students is a collaborative effort coordinated between each school's administration and staff on the one hand, and the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Coordinator and staff on the other. Each school has a team of bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers who facilitate assessment, placement, and services to eligible students in coordination with building administrators and the central office coordinator, following the district's guidelines and procedures.

b. Assessment Tools

Evaluation and Assessment of potentially eligible students include Language Proficiency Tests and Achievement Tests as follows:

GRADE	TEST
K-1	Pre-LAS
3-8	LAS (Listening, speaking, reading, writing) ITBS (Iowa Test Basic Skills) Reading and Math Concepts
9-12	TAP (Reading and Math) Test of Achievement and Proficiency

c. Notification to Parents

Once students are identified as LEP, parents are sent a letter explaining the identification procedures, the program of instruction, curriculum, staff, and their right to services. Parents have the right to decline services by sending back a signed form included in the notification letter. Such letters are provided in five languages: Arabic, Spanish, Romanian, Albanian and Italian. If parents do not consent to placement of their child in the program the child is removed to a setting where bilingual/ESL education is not used. The parental refusal documents are saved and filed in the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Office. They are also entered into the data base. If for any reason the parents wish to re-enter their child into the program after parent withdrawal, they may fill out a form that will allow them to do so.

d. Exit Criteria

The essential goal of program services is to enable students to achieve proficiency in the English language and to maintain progress in the content areas in order to achieve academically in school and beyond. Standardized test results, coupled with teacher recommendations, form the basis for the exit decision. Parents are informed of the change in the student's program status when it occurs.

In the spring of the school year, LEP students are tested with standardized instruments covering oral English, reading of English and math achievement. Those who score higher than the 40th percentile on all three tests will exit the program, and their parents are notified of the decision. Students are monitored for one year after exiting the program to insure that academic progress is maintained.

THE BILINGUAL/ESL INSTRUCTIONAL DELIVERY MODEL: AN EXEMPLARY INTEGRATED LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

The merger of Title 1 with Bilingual departments led to further investigation of program delivery. There was a need to eradicate the fragmentation of services provided to the same students by different staff members. The combined staff provided opportunity for a concentrated effort in adapting the most appropriate research-based instructional approaches (Short, 1994; Chamot, 1994; Carpenter, 1985; Clay, 1993). The program instructional team designed a delivery system that accelerates English language development through content materials focusing on the district's curricular goals.

1. Instruction

LEP students eligible for services receive assistance offered by bilingual/ESL teachers and bilingual paraprofessionals for a daily period ranging from thirty-minute sessions to full-time bilingual classtime. Levels and scope of services are determined by the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Office based on LEP students' English language proficiency, academic background and needs. Guidelines are then implemented by school staff with the support of building and central office administrators. Intensity of services is modified on a yearly basis following the assessment of students' language and academic progress in addition to teachers' recommendations.

Since 90% of the LEP students are native speakers of Arabic, in classrooms where the majority of the students speak Arabic the bilingual teachers focus on teaching English and content area subjects using native language support. In this way, they assist the students in making the transition from their native language to English, expecting high performance levels and setting high standards for success. Children, therefore, do not fall behind in concept development and formation as they work on transferring concepts from their first language to English in an accelerated manner.

In order to bring students to the appropriate grade level in terms of content area subjects, teachers preview challenging literature with those students who are not yet reading at grade level. Through advance exposure to the curriculum, students are able to succeed in class discussions and in cooperative group activities with their native English-speaking peers. This approach eliminates the need for students to be removed from the classroom in order to receive remedial reading instruction.

Readers' Workshop: The Readers' workshop is used to approach literature-based language arts experiences. The steps in the workshop process result from brainstorming sessions in which students identify a list of strategies that help them achieve their reading goals. The list provides students with a framework for guided reading and increases their sense of ownership of the learning process itself.

Writers' Workshop: In some schools bilingual and regular education teachers learnt to use the Writers' Workshop approach with students who are learning the process of writing. The sequence of writing steps, in which students learn to write, revise, and edit their writing with their peers and with the teacher, has been used effectively. Bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers model the sequence and support teachers' efforts in the implementation process through modeling and co-teaching efforts. Students are engaged in a Writers' Workshop through multi-age groupings and regroupings where teachers and paraprofessionals assist small groups of students through co-teaching. Students work on initial drafts, reviewing, getting feedback, revising, and sharing. They know what is expected of them and are encouraged to work on independent writing projects.

Cooperative Learning and Individualized Instruction: In an attempt to match teaching styles with learning styles, bilingual/ESL teachers use cooperative learning in several ways. As a result, students show remarkable ability to be engaged and spend extended periods of time without adult direction. As students move through the process, their cooperative groups change and they work with a large number of their classmates. In this way, children develop a desire to learn and to assist one another in learning.

While students work in cooperative groups, teachers and paraprofessionals are able to provide one-on-one interaction with individual students for 20-25 minutes at a time, or work for 30 minutes with a small group, developing literacy with the aid of the Content Based Literacy Model (CBLM). Under these arrangements, the transition to English language literacy and development is tailored to each student.

Both ESL and bilingual teachers use the Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) suggested by Chamot and O'Malley (1994) while integrating learning for students. Teachers follow this instructional format, teaching English with native language support as needed:

a. Preparation
Motivation
Accessing prior knowledge
Vocabulary and concept development
Overview

b. Presentation
Explanation of concept
Eliciting questions

c. Practice
Checking for understanding
Small group discussion and hands-on experiences

d. Evaluation & Extension of Concepts
Relate to the real world
Think about extension of concepts
Parent-child-school connection (homework) and
Family Math/Science project sessions
Closure-review

e. Cumulative Thematic Projects
Cooperative learning project sessions at the end of each unit of study that focus on developing students' research and problem solving skills using active learning.

Other teaching techniques used include the natural thematic approach, based on the "empowerment" model of "interactive experiential" teaching. (Cummins, 1984: Wells, 1986) Key elements of this instruction are:

1. Orientation to new topic using English and the students' native language and culture through genuine dialogue among students and teacher. The bilingual teacher's role is active as a guide and facilitator to learning. (Lambert, 1975; Cummins, 1989)
2. Collaborative learning context through cooperative learning settings, student-student interaction, and encouragement of meaningful language. (Kagan, 1986)
3. "Comprehensible input" --integration of language use and development with all curriculum content, not isolation of subjects. (Krashen, 1982)
4. Development of critical and creative thinking skills.
5. Assignments that generate intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation. (Vygotsky, 1962; Cummins, 1986)

The instructional activities focus on oral and literacy skills, the language of content areas (namely math and science), and the application of concepts and language skills to real life situations. Discovery learning through mini-lab experiences, hands-on and minds-on activities, daily problem-solving team work, cooperative learning, and interactive listening, speaking, reading, and process writing activities, is the hallmark of each lesson design. Each lesson is supplemented by directed reading and thinking activities centered around diverse cultural contributions in the fields of math, science, and the arts.

Language minority guests are sometimes invited to speak to the LEP students. These speakers show by example that the students, too, can achieve language and content proficiency and become contributors to America's future. Lastly, field trips and cumulative math and science projects, integrated with language arts, enhance the real-life applications of classroom studies.

In 1993, a delivery system based on a literature review of effective teaching models, learning theories and field practices, led to the development of the Content Based Literacy Model (CBLM) by a team of bilingual and Title 1 teachers. When using this model, teachers encourage students to read literature from different genres on a daily basis. They are coached to become independent strategic learners by utilizing metacognitive (self-monitoring, self-correcting, self-regulating and questioning) strategies through a focused, integrated reading-writing model. (James, 1890; Vygotsky, 1962; Cummins, 1981; Routman, 1991; Clay, 1991; Krashen, 1982)

Both bilingual and Title 1 teachers and paraprofessionals received training in how to apply CBLM when working with small groups of students. After a period of field tests, the model was shared with classroom teachers to establish uniformity in the delivery of instruction. A series of staff development sessions was provided through team-teaching and workshops in which effective teaching strategies and integrating reading and writing with science, math and social studies were discussed.

In order to provide the students with successful reading experiences, students' strengths are assessed to identify individual interest and reading levels. A diverse, content-rich collection of books was purchased and categorized by reading level. These books were then aligned with the district's curriculum regarding different subject areas and placed in classrooms for daily use. Thus, it is possible for all students to be matched to the appropriate level of instruction for faster acceleration.

These content-based books provide students with the opportunity to read with 90% accuracy as measured by a reading "running record." This collection was chosen on the basis of the following criteria:

- thematic groupings
- sequential and predictable content
- usage of child's natural language rather than contrived language
- highly supportive illustrations of the books' language
- big books and multiple copies for small group instruction
- based on child's daily experiences
- written in/translated into more than one language
- culturally appropriate.

One instructional model in math, Cognitively Guided Instruction (CGI), proved to be especially appropriate for the district's students. (Carpenter et. al., 1985) The resource staff is currently being trained in this model through the Multifunctional Resource Center (MRC), and is starting field application. By linking CGI with the Content Based Literacy Model, student learning is synthesized and accelerated.

English language learners are integrated with English fluent students in both regular and bilingual classrooms. In a print-rich environment, students learn English from their peers and from "buddy readers" selected from among the upper grades. Bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers and paraprofessionals provide "in-classroom" instruction using the natural approach, whole language approach, language experience and cooperative learning. Shared reading, peer buddies, and community service students are examples of other supportive in-classroom services provided on a daily basis.

Classroom teachers are provided with listening centers as a reinforcement tool for language acquisition and small group instruction. The centers include taped books and songs in English and the home languages of the children in order to assist them in transferring concepts from their home language to English.

In an effort to create shared responsibility between school and home, teachers and paraprofessionals send materials, including books and tapes, home with students to reinforce new learning experiences (reading, math and science). The purchase of additional tape recorders and taped books and materials have made this possible.

Resource materials and manipulatives are regularly upgraded and provided to each school to reinforce the learning process across the curriculum. Such resources include science story books, science big books, unifex cubes, "Family Math" resource guides, Activities that Integrate Math and Science (AIMS) kits, and thematic units.

In one of the schools, a two-way bilingual education pilot program was initiated in 1994/95. The program's objectives include developing student proficiency in English and Arabic, accelerating academic achievement, and developing both self-esteem and positive attitudes toward other cultures. Both English- and Arabic-speaking parents living in the school's neighborhood have the option of enrolling their children in the program after attending an orientation meeting held by the school principal and program administrator.

As part of the intensive focus on accelerating student achievement, the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department trained eight Title 1 teachers in Reading Recovery. (Clay, 1993) Teachers receive extensive assistance from a year-long course at Western Michigan University, followed by two years of close district supervision and evaluation. These teachers provide a one-to-one diagnostic reading program for a period of thirty minutes a day per student. This year four bilingual teachers are being trained in this approach by the district's Reading Recovery Teacher Leader.

2. Middle and High Schools Model: Additional Accommodations

The Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) meets the academic needs of students learning English as a second language in the Dearborn middle and high schools as well. The secondary LEP students encounter more challenges in learning the majority language and in achieving academically. These challenges include overcoming illiteracy, disrupted schooling, cultural mismatch with the majority culture, failure to provide for initial cognitive and linguistic success in the first language, and inadequate curriculum and instruction in the home country.

In the middle and high schools, students are placed in ESL/bilingual classes based on their English proficiency levels. CALLA is used to assist ESL students to succeed in school by providing transitional instruction from either standard ESL programs or bilingual programs to grade-level content classrooms. Teachers meet the academic needs of three types of ESL students: (1) students who have developed social communicative skills through beginning level ESL classes or through exposure to an English-speaking environment but who have not yet developed academic language skills appropriate to their grade level; (2) students who have acquired academic language skills in their native language and initial proficiency in English but who need assistance in transferring concepts and skills learned in the first language to English; and (3) bilingual, English-dominant students who have not yet developed academic language skills in either language.

In the middle schools, students are assigned to a team of ESL/bilingual teachers whose expertise lies in different subject areas, thus providing opportunities for students to acquire English through content area instruction. Teachers have common planning time and meet regularly with the assigned Bilingual/ESL Department Chair. The Department Chair is selected on a rotating basis by the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Coordinator and provides leadership in the identification, assessment, and placement of students, as well as in follow-up services, parent involvement, and staff development at each of the school buildings. In the middle schools, each LEP student is assigned to an advisor within the team. Teachers meet with their advisees every morning in order to provide guidance to students on pertinent educational issues.

Middle and high school students are assigned to either beginning, intermediate, or advanced level classrooms based on their English proficiency level and background knowledge in each subject area. Placement is determined by an initial assessment of each student, coupled with consecutive yearly follow-up testing and careful evaluation of progress. Students who are illiterate join a literacy class where basic skills are taught in an accelerated manner through integrated learning. Beginners spend most of their day in classrooms with ESL/bilingual teachers who also specialize in English, math, science, social studies, or economics. However, these students are mainstreamed during special electives in which a bilingual paraprofessional provides native language support through a co-teaching arrangement. Intermediate and advanced students may select from both regular and bilingual/ESL classes.

Recently, high school teachers have been trained in the Career Awareness Curriculum which has been incorporated in the ESL English classes in an attempt to assist the students in the school-to-work transition. LEP students receive career counseling and guidance from vocational education teachers and counselors.

3. Technology

Computer Assisted Instruction is available with software selections, such as "Accelerated Reader" and "The Writing Center," that allow for a high level of interaction and integration of reading and writing. Additional individual computers are placed in the bilingual and regular education classrooms as well as in resource rooms for daily editing and publishing. The use of technology motivates and advances LEP students' literacy levels and love of reading and writing.

4. Materials Development

Bilingual Education instructional services in Dearborn adhere to the District curriculum and State Core Curriculum guidelines in each particular area. Because of the serious dearth of instructional materials in English as a Second Language, the Dearborn Public Schools Bilingual Education program has continued to develop appropriate materials to match the students' needs. Bilingual storybooks, resource books, parent involvement activities, and district-developed content area materials have complemented resources previously available to students, parents and teachers.

PROGRAM INFRASTRUCTURE AND IMPLEMENTATION

1. Team Building at Each School Site

Meetings between the departmental coordinator and school principals take place in order to coordinate services and provide updates on research, program policies and procedures. These meetings seek administrative support to strengthen collaboration between regular and bilingual and Title 1 teams in providing integrated services to students and in planning and implementing schoolwide and districtwide staff development opportunities.

As a result of the coordinated meetings with building administrators, a series of discussions and inservice opportunities takes place at each school in order to discuss the necessity for change and the steps needed to coordinate and maintain a successful integrated program. Collaborative efforts are thus strengthened in each eligible school, and reconfigurations are encouraged at the building level.

The majority of schools have at least one bilingual teacher for each grade level where LEP students with the least proficiency in English are placed. Bilingual teachers act as advocates for high educational standards due to their competency in second language acquisition and cultural sensitivity. Furthermore, they are very successful in maintaining parent involvement because of their knowledge of students' home languages and understanding of their cultural backgrounds. (Garcia, 1994; Cummins, 1986) These teachers work with non-bilingual classroom teachers in planning appropriate instruction for second language learners, parent involvement activities, field trips, and staff development opportunities. The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department initiates and supports collaborations in these areas.

In addition to the bilingual classroom teachers, a team of one bilingual/ESL and one Title 1 resource teacher is placed at each school receiving bilingual and Title 1 services. They are trained to act as staff developers and as facilitators of change. Their responsibilities include assessment and placement of, and direct services to, students, staff development in subject area instruction, reading and second language acquisition, and parent involvement.

The program coordinator meets with the teams of bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers bi-monthly to assess program impact, student progress and assessment issues, staff development plans, material selection, and future direction in light of the needs of Dearborn's unique population. Strategies that strengthen the collaborative model of departmental activities across the district are discussed in terms of available financial and human resources.

2. Co-teaching and Support-teaching

At each school, classroom teachers, bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers, and paraprofessionals form a planning team. Each team then makes use of a strategic approach to teamwork, thus enabling discussion of individual student needs, material selection, instructional deliveries, and evaluation. Teachers are encouraged to team-teach by grade or by subject area (horizontal and vertical teaming) and to discuss ways of developing and linking each teacher's goals, objectives, and outcomes. The teams also plan joint field trips, coordinate their curricula, and design lessons and activities to strengthen non-graded approaches to teaching, thematic instruction, parental involvement and staff development opportunities. With the assistance of substitute teachers, who occasionally replace classroom teachers, the teams have time to reflect upon their teaching strategies and to suggest areas for improvement with opportunities for further learning. Teachers also meet during the afternoons or during preparation time or lunch time to develop joint solutions for reaching particular students.

Both bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers meet on a weekly basis to review student needs and levels of service, assess language competency of new students, and recommend intervention strategies to classroom teachers. Similarly, at the middle and high schools, one bilingual/ESL teacher dedicates at least one hour a day to facilitate services for limited-English proficient students. At the middle school, these teachers, as members of the schools' teams, discuss ways of integrating bilingual and non-bilingual services through team-teaching, staff development and cultural activities.

Bilingual paraprofessionals are continuing to increase "in classroom" supported instruction for students who, in the past, would have been removed from integrated classrooms. This "Support Teaching" approach provides the opportunity to work with all students in the classrooms, not just the identified bilingual and Title 1 students. The team oversees the instruction of heterogeneously or homogeneously grouped students, rotating responsibility for these groups among the classroom teacher, resource teacher, and paraprofessional.

3. Student Support Teams

At each school Student Support Teams, consisting of the principal, program director, bilingual and Title 1 resource teachers, classroom teachers, paraprofessionals, special education support staff, parent/community liaison, and parents, have been created. Each team discusses individual student and family needs whenever necessary, drawing upon resources available in the school and community. The team refers students and their families to community-based health, mental health, and family services for additional support. Such resources have enhanced the students' acculturation process, adjustment to the school system, and job placement, as well as adult education for their parents.

4. Articulation Meetings

In order to provide a smooth transition for students moving from elementary to middle school, or from middle school to high school, articulation meetings are set up by the department in which teachers review student progress, appropriate placement, and materials needed for accelerated programming.

Bilingual/ESL curriculum and textbook evaluation committees review and modify LEP students' instructional outcomes based on the changing needs of students at all levels. Follow-up meetings with college and business representatives are an integral part of this process if students are to succeed after completing high school.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A districtwide reform committee was formed during the 1994/95 school year to develop a systemic school improvement plan in alignment with the state plan and

Goals 2000. Individual school improvement committees simultaneously revised their improvement plans and aligned them with the evolving district plan. The committees restructured instructional methods, staff development, assessment, parent involvement, and community partnership endeavors in an attempt to establish an integrated delivery of services as proposed by the U.S. Department of Education (1994) and Stefkovich (1993). This plan was integrated into the Bilingual and Compensatory Education plan in order to avoid fragmentation and duplication of services.

Professional development is school-determined, based on students' and teachers' needs. Teachers share knowledge and techniques, and together investigate a particular teaching approach. (Wasley, 1991; Johnson, 1988) The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department supports this effort by consulting with experts in the fields of language acquisition, reading, and content area. It works closely with the schools to assess needs and recommend professional development plans consistent with the district's philosophy and each individual school's goals.

The changing student population makes it necessary for teachers to learn more about the cultural backgrounds of their students and to adapt different strategies for instructing those students. Basic and differentiated staff development training is provided throughout the district. Training sessions cover a wide variety of topics: theoretical framework for bilingual education, language acquisition and academic learning, English as a Second Language, teaching LEP students in mainstream classrooms, Cooperative Learning, cultural awareness, parent education, Language Experience Approach (LEA), Integrated Thematic Instruction, and Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA).

The bilingual teams provide a series of discussions on cultural variety and its impact on teaching and learning. Classroom teachers become familiar with the cultural backgrounds of their students in order to promote a responsive climate in the schools. New students are thus supported throughout the acculturation process as they adjust to both the new school and their new country. (Cummins, 1981; 1986)

The Department of Human Resources developed and implemented a mentor/novice teacher program which provides opportunities for professional support, collegial visits and sharing, thus creating a learning community. The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department has established a professional lending library so that staff members may keep abreast of research in the areas of teaching and learning. The library includes audio-visual training kits and references for native language development and second language acquisition, parent involvement, and family literacy. Other resources include strategies on content-based literacy, early childhood education, and culturally, developmentally, and linguistically appropriate teaching.

The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program acts with the Department of Instructional Services to insure that teachers and paraprofessionals receive the staff development necessary to aid all students in achieving their full potential. Staff development topics include second language acquisition and the constructivist approach to teaching, which includes such methods as Cognitively Guided Instruction (CGI), Cooperative Learning, Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA), Multiple Intelligences, and Integrated Thematic Instruction. (Carpenter, 1985; Chamot, 1994; Gardner, 1993; Johnson, 1988)

Specialized training is provided with the Content Based Literacy Model (CBLM) with an eye toward culturally and linguistically diverse students. Multicultural training for new teachers is provided in order to improve communication skills and working relationships with culturally diverse students and their families.

In collaboration with Wayne State University, the Multifunctional Resource Center (MRC) at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and Evaluation Assistance Center-East (EAC), the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department offers on-site college courses (funded by Title VII and Title 1 funds) to teachers and paraprofessionals during the school year and in the summer. The courses are tailored to the needs of a diverse student population. Course topics include ESL/Bilingual strategies, literacy development, parent involvement techniques and Thematic Instruction. This collaborative effort has resulted in the development of a career ladder program for paraprofessionals who wish to pursue professional status as certified teachers. (Lyons, 1993; Bliss, 1991; Sergiovanni,1994)

A concerted effort is also under way to replace standardized testing procedures with alternative assessment techniques. Districtwide workshops on alternative assessment and criterion-referenced testing have been provided for the purposes of planning individualized instruction and monitoring student progress, as recommended by Pierce (1993) and Fradd (1994).

As an outreach to classroom teachers, a series of staff development workshops provide professional development to classroom teachers in strategic instruction of reading and writing. The departmental Title 1 resource teachers and the Reading Recovery Teacher-Leader deliver specific techniques that are linguistically appropriate to limited-English proficient students.

PARENT ENRICHMENT PROGRAMS

Programs that involve parents in the schools play a major role in creating a desirable context for teaching and learning. Research indicates that staff sensitivity to parents' primary needs and priorities increases parents' receptiveness to intervention programs and their trust in school staff. (Bromwich, 1981; Moles, 1987; Epstein, 1983, 1986) Successful programs need to emphasize the development of family support teams to oversee the comprehensive needs of all family members as well as home learning activities. (Frymier, 1985; Coleman, 1987)

The National Education Association's Teacher-Parent Partnership Project (1986) indicates that even short-term programs increase parent attendance at school meetings and satisfaction with teachers. Through systemic collaborative initiatives with early childhood, adult and community education programs, schools can create family-centered services that are effective in meeting the needs of all students. (Epstein, 1992; Shneider, 1993)

Increasing parent involvement in school activities is one of the most important goals of school reform plans. (U.S. Department of Education, 1994) The reauthorization of Title VII and Title 1 provides an opportunity to strengthen community confidence in schools. School boards, administrators, and educators need to involve parents in the development and implementation of comprehensive programs. School districts also need to establish a framework and adopt written policies and mechanisms through which parent involvement goals are achieved.

The Department of Bilingual and Compensatory Education has adopted a parent involvement policy that includes creating active partnerships between schools and their communities. To attain this goal, a joint Title VII and Title 1 Parent Advisory Council (PAC), and a Preschool Parent Advisory Council (PPAC) were formed. Both councils meet quarterly, suggesting improvements to the department in different areas such as curriculum, participation in school activities, and parents-training-parents programs (Fig. 2).

Figure 2

Suggestions for School-Home Partnership

Family Math and Family Science.
Play Time is Science.
Parent Advisory Council.
Parent-child field trips.
Classroom volunteers.
Parent Link, a computer phone link.
Lending libraries that include toys, games, and references.
Content Based Literacy home kits.
Taped books and recorders kits.
Classroom volunteers to reinforce students' learning.
School orientation sessions for new parents.
Parent-child open house.
Family science and math fairs.
Open door policy.
Parents supporting bilingual and Title 1 students.
Small group discussions on topics of interest to parents.
Parent Interest Surveys and questionnaires.
Fund raisers.
Holiday programs for families.
Curriculum review committees.
Shared reading where children ask parents questions.
Bilingual newsletters.
Bilingual cable TV programs.
Cross-cultural book fairs.
Interviews of parent role models.
Library trips.
Parent room/lounge at each school.
Visits to cultural museums.
Parent-child journals.
Parent Leaders/ Parents Training Parents.
Parent-child activities.
Multicultural festivals.
Parent speakers bureau.
Parent storytellers of oral traditions.
Publishing centers.
Community schools.
Extended day/year tutoring programs.
Family literacy programs.
Parent-teacher recognition dinners.
Professional development sessions for parents.
Child care services.

The department makes successful use of parent involvement models that have been shown to be effective. The models include parent-child activities, shared reading, small group discussions, in-classroom participation and modeling. Parents participate in writing district and school plans, reviewing curriculum, and involving other parents in the "parents-training-parents" sessions. They are involved in the instructional program as resources, role models, and volunteers. With the guidance of Student Support Teams, parents and teachers become successful partners in instructional planning.

In addition, parents attend awareness sessions to discuss school policies, students' rights, and student codes of conduct. Such discussions lead to active parent involvement in policy making and curriculum development. The Title 1 bilingual parent/community liaison and the Title VII parent educator assist teachers in providing models for parents who wish to improve parent-child interactions and parental reinforcement of the child's cognitive processes. They also instruct parents and conduct "Family Math" and "Playtime is Science" activities. The instructional staff prepares and provides children with take-home kits, books, and Content-Based Literacy Model homework packets.

Bilingual handbooks, newsletters, and cable-television programs cover topics of interest to parents. Such topics may include child development, life management skills for parents, and school regulations.

The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Department administers a Parent Survey Questionnaire at each school building. It also seeks input from administrators, teachers, and paraprofessionals. The purpose of the survey is to assess the effectiveness of parent involvement at each school. Results are compiled and shared with the district's systemic reform committee and individual school personnel to assist them in modifying their school improvement plans.

COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP

There is a strong collaboration with community-based programs, especially ACCESS. Bilingual community resources provided by ACCESS include health services, family counseling, vocational education, cultural arts programs, adult education, and mental health and social services. Dearborn schools coordinate their programs with these available resources in order to provide comprehensive services to students and their families.

The bilingual Title 1 community/parent liaison, the preschool parent liaison, and the Title VII parent educator collaborate with teachers in referring students' families to bilingual community services. Follow-up meetings with human service providers and student support teams indicate the positive impact of such coordinated efforts on academic progress and adjustment to the American school culture.

OTHER SUPPORT SERVICES

1. Early Childhood Programs

All aspects of the Dearborn's Early Childhood Program are based on research and the district's experience in operating programs and services specifically developed for Dearborn's LEP and other at risk students and their parents. The program and activities are based on studies, research, guidelines, program evaluations and suggestions governing adult literacy, parenting and early childhood education.

Research indicates that children who read at an early age and who are surrounded by printed matter and reading activity at home grow up with an appreciation of literacy and an urge to become literate themselves. Hence, the early-childhood-project students and their families are the primary focus of a districtwide concern with readying young children for school.

Eleven preschool centers, located at the schools with the greatest need, provide an extension of the home at school and an extension of the school at home. This is achieved by facilitating concept development in the English language for four-year-old LEP children through parent education and classroom instruction. One of the two staff members speaks the native language of the child and parent. The preschool teacher and paraprofessional work as a team to create the best school experience possible for parents and their children. The staff provides monthly education sessions to parents in which cognitive, social/emotional, and physical needs of their children are addressed.

Family members are encouraged to visit and volunteer in the classroom regularly to show the value of school to the child and to reinforce teachers' efforts to make the most of each child's learning potential. The parent and child share with other family members the value of interactive learning and the way speaking, listening, reading and writing are related to each other. Opportunities for adult support of child language development and early literacy skills are planned for, developed, and recorded. Teachers, students, and project parents are involved in activities that promote multicultural understanding, such as those provided by the Anti-Bias and Roots and Wings curricula, and High Scope. A lending library has been established at each center so that parents may borrow stimulating materials, books, and toys that further prepare children for school.

2. Orientation and Counseling

LEP students may require counseling in the primary language of the student. Bilingual teachers collaborate with the counselors to assist students and parents in learning how to adjust to life in the United States. The teams add to and improve school resources, resolve student conflicts, and make referrals, as appropriate. Bilingual counselors and bilingual staff work on building self-esteem and career awareness.

3. Extended Day/Year Programs

a. Accelerated Program

An accelerated before- and after-school program is provided to bilingual and Title 1 students based on need. Under the supervision and guidance of departmental resource teachers, classroom teachers and paraprofessionals, upper-grade students are paired with lower-grade students for shared reading and writing time. Guided reading, math and science activities, and reinforcement of content concepts studied during the school day are an integral part of these sessions. Daily logs and student journals are kept and shared with students, parents and classroom teachers.

To provide positive role models, bilingual high school students serve as tutors for younger students in the Accelerated Program. Recently, the program coordinator initiated a joint project with the local community college in which college students provide mentorship and tutoring services to bilingual and Title 1 students in the classrooms and the after-school Accelerated Program. Feedback from schools affirms gains in individual student academic achievement.

b. Accelerated Summer Academic Program

An Accelerated Summer Academic Program (ASAP) continues the forward thrust of the year's focus on literacy and content area achievement through a thematic approach. LEP students are grouped by grade level and are teamed with English proficient students who receive Title 1 services, thereby further encouraging the use of English by LEP students.

One bilingual and one non-bilingual staff member work in teams in each classroom of fourteen students. A music teacher and a media specialist integrate music and Computer Assisted Instruction into daily content-based language instruction. Field trip sites are selected in conjunction with the themes taught to students, thereby enriching their language experiences. A final "Celebration of Talents" includes performances, demonstrations, and materials prepared by the students in English as well as the different languages they speak. Parents, community members, school board members, administrators and State representatives are invited to join in this celebration.

Students participate in recreational activities coordinated by youth members who volunteer at ACCESS, the local community-based organization. These youth mentors act as positive role models to Dearborn students while carrying out neighborhood projects which preserve the environment and help the elderly.

Parent education is an integral part of ASAP, involving parents in daily small group discussions with specialists from different fields who volunteer their time and materials. Topics reflect parents' needs and interests.

Bilingual Family Math (Stenmark et al., 1986) and Playtime is Science (Sprung et al., 1990) activities are available to parents in order to support parent-child interaction and provide shared problem-solving experiences.

STUDENT ASSESSMENT AND PROGRAM EVALUATION

The district uses multiple measures to assess student performance in language and achievement, as recommended by Pierce (1992) and Tierney (1991). Assessment procedures are designed to identify LEP students, determine their placement, assess their instructional needs and monitor their achievement. Each LEP student is assessed in the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing of English using Pre LAS and LAS tests. Academic achievement in reading and math is assessed by norm-reference testing: the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) in grades 2 through 8, and Tests of Achievement and Proficiency (TAP) in grades 9 through 12.

Other measures include Observation Survey (Clay, 1993) for grades K-1, running records, and alternate ranking for elementary students completed by classroom teachers in collaboration with the bilingual and Title 1 staff.

Information gathered from this assessment is updated annually and serves as a basis for educational decisions, including reclassification, exiting, and placement in other programs.

The Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP) is required by the state of Michigan. This state-developed test covers reading, mathematics, science, and social studies at various grade levels. The state goal in developing this test was to find a tool that could measure student mastery of the curriculum. The MEAP is given annually for students in grades 4, 7, and 11.

Both Title 1 and bilingual teams assess students, place them, and confer with classroom teachers to monitor progress. The department maintains a comprehensive data base that incorporates information on each student which includes demographics, developmental information, academic achievement scores, and referrals to health and social services.

A concerted effort is made to solidify the use of authentic assessment such as student portfolios and criterion-referenced tests. Individual portfolios and Individualized Educational Plans are kept for each student. These portfolios include samples of their work in the different subject areas so that students will be provided with systematic sequential instruction and monitored academic growth. The student support team members have access to this folder in order to monitor student progress and suggest modifications and improvement.

1. Program Evaluation

Each year, the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program is evaluated by an outside evaluator to assess progress and improve services to students, staff, and parents. The most recent complete evaluation indicates that LEP students made statistically significant progress in English (basic and advanced skills) as well as in math.

Table 2
The 1994 pre and post ITBS test results of LEP elementary students in Reading, Vocabulary and Mathematics.

Type of Subtest	Mean Gains	Standard Deviation	t-Value	Degrees of Freedom	1-tailed Probability
Vocabulary	8.07	12.59	24.86	1503	.000
Reading	7.99	14.06	22.02	1503	.000
Mathematics	28.27	26.49	41.38	1503	.000

The t-test was used to analyze the data for the whole elementary school sample obtained from the following subtests: Vocabulary, Reading and Mathematics. Table 2 lists the means of the pretest and posttest for each one of the three sub scales. The differences in the means of all the subtests indicate that the bilingual/ESL intervention (treatment) made a very significant contribution to student achievement, as measured by the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS).

Table 3

Comparison among the seven schools on reading.

School	Mean Gains	Standard Deviation	t-Value	Degrees of Freedom	1-tailed Probability
Maples	9.85	8.12	19.44	256	.000
Salina	7.63	8.16	15.32	256	.000
William Ford	8.00	7.58	15.24	207	.000
Lowery	9.52	13.95	13.91	414	.000
McDonald	7.02	8.00	10.90	155	.000
Oakman	7.57	9.07	9.62	132	.000
Woodworth	4.76	23.89	3.18	254	.002

Table 4

Comparison among the seven schools on vocabulary.

School	Mean Gains	Standard Deviation	t-Value	Degrees of Freedom	1-tailed Probability
Maples	11.19	9.32	19.25	256	.000
William Ford	9.30	7.99	16.79	207	.000
McDonald	8.53	8.81	12.09	155	.000
Salina	6.56	8.96	11.98	267	.000
Lowery	7.63	13.71	11.33	414	.000
Oakman	10.18	11.30	10.39	132	.000
Woodworth	6.63	16.91	6.26	254	.000

Table 5

Comparison among the seven schools on mathematics.

School	Mean Gains	Standard Deviation	t-Value	Degrees of Freedom	1-tailed Probability
Salina	42.05	11.90	57.84	267	.000
Oakman	37.52	19.38	22.33	132	.000
William Ford	30.94	20.67	21.58	207	.000
Maples	20.63	16.63	19.89	256	.000
Woodworth	37.78	32.94	18.31	254	.000
Lowery	21.98	28.90	15.50	414	.000
McDonald	18.8.7	15.81	14.91	155	.000

School by school breakdown (Tables 3, 4 & 5) of students' achievement scores further indicates the statistically significant difference in the students' academic achievement in math, reading and vocabulary in each school with a high concentration of LEP students.

In summary, the results of the statistical analysis performed by the outside program evaluator provide assurance that the significant academic gains demonstrated by the LEP students are due to the instructional design, partnership with parents, and the overall systemic changes implemented by the Dearborn Public Schools.

2. Additional Objectives to Accomplish

The Bilingual and Compensatory Education Program strives to accomplish the following additional objectives:

- Provide evaluation components for new teaching models by implementing action research designs to assess the impact of selected intervention methods on student achievement and language proficiency

- Adopt evaluation procedures that examine key indicators for program implementation in addition to student outcomes

- Examine the rate of success LEP students are having in achieving the state academic standards by passing the Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP)

- Expand the use of broader and culturally fair diagnostic tests: performance based and authentic assessment of reading and comprehending, writing samples to note change over time, open-ended math story problems

- Assess and modify instruction, models and means of delivery based on ongoing monitoring and evaluation of student academic achievement levels and Michigan Educational Assessment Program(MEAP) scores

- Conduct surveys to examine community perceptions of the Bilingual/ESL program regarding the variety of services provided and their effectiveness

- Use the media, TV and cable programs in order to inform the public of the goals and objectives of the Bilingual/ESL program as well as of its efforts to accelerate student English language acquisition and development.

FUTURE DIRECTION

The Dearborn School District strives to expand current efforts to integrate bilingual and compensatory education services by including other partners in this challenging mission. It is evident that systemic reform will require a more cohesive collaboration among available human as well as financial resources such as the Eisenhower professional development program, technology, family literacy, Even Start and Headstart, Safe and Drug-Free schools, the gifted and talented program, and the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act (IDEA).

The district school improvement committee has designed an integrated plan that is based on a districtwide assessment of the needs of students, staff, support staff, administrators, parents, and community leaders. Such a plan strives to be student-centered and has high expectations requiring interconnected services. A collective effort is being made among all parties to reach out to parents, thus linking schools, parents and communities across all educational disciplines.

Teachers can support student heritage as well as the American culture by incorporating cultural contributions in the school curriculum and using students and parents as key resources. This could also be strengthened through the provision of native language support and the integration of newcomers with English language speakers. Intensive staff development plans should focus on preparing teachers to work effectively with all students, including language minority students. Such training must include an understanding of the impact of language and culture on student achievement.

CONCLUSION

Staff members working with LEP students need to engage themselves in constant inquiry. They need to be culturally aware of the needs of diverse groups, use sound instructional techniques based on current educational research, and believe in continuous professional development. In addition to a strong partnership between schools and home, the effort of educational reform will be successful when it is collaborative, systemic and student-centered.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

SHEREEN ARRAF, Ph.D., is the Coordinator of the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Programs in the Dearborn Schools, Michigan. She effected the merger of Bilingual/ESL Chapter 1 and other state and federal programs in 1993 and has streamlined services for students by providing technical assistance and training in the area of systemic reform and integration of services. Dr. Arraf is also an adjunct professor at Institutions of Higher Education, an active member in several professional societies, and a dedicated volunteer in her community.

RUSSELL GERSTEN, Ph.D., is professor of educational research at the University of Oregon and president of the Eugene Research Institute. He has conducted numerous research studies in the field of bilingual education over the past 16 years.

ROSALIE PEDALINO PORTER, Ed.D., is chairman of the Board and acting director of The READ Institute. For ten years she was director of Bilingual and English as a Second Language Programs in the Newton, Massachusetts Public Schools. She has lectured widely on the subject of bilingualism both in the United States and Europe.

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INTRODUCTION

The current issue of *READ Perspectives* features two studies of central importance in the consideration of language education policy in the U.S.: an analysis of the ways in which the degree of fluency in the common language of a country impacts upon economic success, and a descriptive report of a successful urban program in a school district with a very high enrollment of limited-English students.

The first article in this volume is a research report by Professor Barry Chiswick, head of the Economics Department at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and Professor Paul Miller of the University of Western Australia. They analyze the wealth of data collected in the 1990 Census of Population of the United States in order to provide a statistical account of language usage in the U.S., focusing on these main questions: To what extent are languages other than English spoken in the U.S.? What are these languages and who speaks them, i.e., by age, ethnic group, education level, place of birth, geographic concentration, and other factors? What are the English language skills among those who speak another language? And, most importantly, what are the social and economic consequences of using other languages?

Professors Chiswick and Miller conclude that "the lack of proficiency in English can impede the social, economic and political adjustment to American society and promote an inward-looking perspective that contributes to the growth of ethnic ghettos based on language use." The authors report that immigrants in the United States who are not proficient in English have earnings around 16 percent lower than do immigrants who are proficient in English, other things being equal. This figure has barely changed since the authors reported a 17 percent difference in earnings when they analyzed the 1980 census data. Conversely, there is also a documented improvement in the opportunities for full-time work and for working a higher number of days per year for immigrants with fluency in the national language.

Reflecting the patterns of heaviest immigration flows, Spanish speakers make up 55 percent of those who speak a language other than English at home, followed by small percentages of dozens of European, Asian and Native American Indian languages. Spanish speakers, as a group, differ from other immigrants and migrants in being younger, having a lower level of schooling, and possessing less English language fluency. English fluency is greater for foreign language speakers who are native born, who speak a language other than Spanish, who have a higher level of education and, if foreign born, who have lived in the U.S. a longer period of time and are U.S. citizens.

There are serious implications for U.S. education policy in the Chiswick-Miller conclusions. The most widely used education program for Spanish speakers, with its focus on years of native language instruction and a minimum of English language use in the classroom, is not producing the results anticipated when the first Bilingual Education Act was passed by the U.S. Congress in 1968. English language fluency was the primary goal—the medium for access to an equal education and to the integration of limited-English students into mainstream classrooms.

Twenty-eight years later, Spanish-speaking students who enter school without a sufficient command of English are still not achieving success in learning English in a reasonably short time, nor are they, as a group, demonstrating academic success in learning their school subjects—both goals clearly put forth as crucial for these students. Spanish-speaking students are dropping out of school before completing their high school courses in unacceptably high percentages. For example, the Los Angeles Unified School District reported that for the 1993-94 school year the high school dropout rate for Latino students was 44.4 percent (compared to a state-wide average of 20 percent), and that three-fourths of these students were enrolled in bilingual classes in the district.

More than any other single group of limited-English students, Spanish speakers are denied the opportunities available to them as adults for skilled work or higher education if they are unable to finish high school with an adequate command of English. Bilingualism can lead to better paid positions in labor market settings where more than one language is used regularly, but having only an imperfect command of English does not lead to success in the real world of work or school in the U.S. Education policy in the states with the largest concentrations of limited-English students of Spanish-speaking background—California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey—needs urgently to revise the emphasis on native language programs that have consistently failed this group of students.

In the continuing series published by the READ Institute featuring exemplary programs for language minority children, Professor Scott Baker of the University of Oregon provides a descriptive study of the Seattle School District's programs for 6,300 limited-English students who represent 78 different language backgrounds. Baker begins with a brief review of the lawsuit brought against the Seattle School District in 1993 on behalf of a dozen language minority students, which was favorably settled out of court by the district (see *READ Perspectives* III-1: 36–39). He then describes in detail the unusual features of the Seattle efforts to promote early and effective English language learning and academic achievement.

Given its geographical location in the Pacific northwest, it is to be expected that most (65 percent) of the limited-English students in the Seattle schools are from Asian countries. The major languages represented in this group are Vietnamese, Chinese dialects, Pilipino dialects, and Khmer. Part of the reason for investigating the Seattle programs for limited-English students is to dispel the prevailing mind-set among educators that "bilingual means Spanish." There are, in fact, approximately one million students of limited-English proficiency (LEP) in U.S. schools whose first language is *not* Spanish, and thus it is useful to see the variety of approaches being used to educate these students.

Baker examines the most current Seattle documents charting student progress, staff competencies, instructional approaches, testing, demographics, high school graduation and dropout statistics. There is also data on staff, student and parent surveys that were administered by an outside consultant (Puget Sound Educational Service District, 1995) to determine the various perceptions of the district programs.

Some program features that are particular to the district are given full descriptions. These include the team-teaching "blended model" that gives limited-English students special help in a mainstream classroom setting—the trial exit procedure for students whom district personnel believe will perform successfully in the mainstream even though they have not yet scored above the 35th percentile on reading and languages tests; and the Bilingual Orientation Centers that focus on English language and literacy development for middle and high school students who arrive in Seattle with little or no formal schooling in any language.

Most important of all, Baker compares the performance on reading, language and math tests of three groups: native speakers of English, LEP students who have been enrolled in special English language learning programs, and LEP students who have not received special services. Comparing the achievement of limited-English students to that of their English-speaking peers is the ultimate test of whether a special program is helping the LEP students or not, and it is the kind of accountability that is too often lacking in this field.

The conclusions drawn by Professor Baker after his exhaustive analysis of the data will be of particular interest to educators and policy-makers across the country:

- LEP students in Seattle who have been enrolled in one of the special English language programs and have successfully exited that program in fewer than 5 years made significant achievement gains in all major subject areas, including reading, language and math, comparable to district averages.
- Students who have remained in the special programs more than 5 years show a considerable rate of decrease in progress.
- LEP students in the English language programs have a considerably lower dropout rate than the rest of the district.
- High school graduation rates for students who have successfully exited from the special language programs are on a par with other students in the district.

It is immediately apparent from these reported and carefully documented results that Seattle's programs are doing what is absolutely essential for its limited-English students—giving them mastery of the English language for academic success and high school completion. It is useful to contrast this with the recent report in the *New York Times* (June 19, 1996: B-6) that the Los Angeles school district is offering a financial bonus to its schools for each additional LEP student who is exited to a mainstream classroom. Los Angeles reports such poor results with its native language instruction program that, even after 5 to 7 years in bilingual classrooms, only 5 percent of the students are considered ready to exit to the mainstream.

Two central lessons may be learned from this issue of *READ Perspectives* for improving the schooling of language minority children:

1. The early acquisition of well-developed English language skills will be one of the greatest aids to their future academic and economic success and upward social mobility in American society.
2. Seattle shows that it is possible to educate LEP students to a level that is comparable to their English-speaking peers *without* resorting to a separate (and inherently unequal and segregative) native language instruction program. Seattle also shows us how.

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Editor
READ Perspectives

The Languages of the United States: What is Spoken and What it Means

Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller

With the end of the mass immigration to the United States in the 1920s and with the passing of the immigrant generation, the people of the United States came to think of themselves as linguistically homogenous, viewing those who spoke a language other than English as marginal to society and the economy or as in a transitional status. Navaho Indians and Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, and the Amish in rural areas in Pennsylvania were among the numerically small groups that "held on to" their languages of origin. They and others like them were viewed, if they were thought of at all, as "quaint" or "backwards" and as peripheral to the mainstream. Immigrants from countries in which a language other than English was spoken might well retain their mother tongue, but this was viewed as an "immigrant generation" phenomenon, and the immigrants, and most certainly their children born in the U.S., were expected to become fully fluent in English and to abandon their origin language.

With the enactment of the 1965 Immigration Amendments and other developments in the U.S. and abroad, rates of immigration to the United States have increased sharply, and the source countries have changed. Whereas, previously, most immigrants came from Europe and Canada, now most come from Latin America and Asia. (Chiswick and Sullivan, 1995) One of the consequences has been an increasing number and share in the population of individuals who are less than fully fluent in English.

As a result, a new view of language has emerged. The consensus that the United States is, and should be, a fundamentally English-language country has been challenged in social, political, economic and judicial arenas. Efforts to promote English as the "official" language of the United States have arisen in response to practices and policies aimed at institutionalizing the use of languages other than English. The operational implications of legislation or of a Constitutional Amendment to make English the official language, or the legal language of government, are unclear. The symbolic implications, however, are important to both sides of the debate.

There is, unfortunately, much emotion but little information regarding language usage in the United States. To what extent are languages other than English spoken in the U.S.? What are these languages? Who speaks them? And what, if any, are the consequences of using other languages? What are the prospects for continued growth in the foreign-language-speaking population of the country? Moreover, what are the English language skills among those who speak another language?

This article provides answers to these questions. We are not so naive as to believe that these answers will resolve the political conflict. We are hopeful, however, that this article can raise the level of the political debate and that resolutions will come easier when the basic facts are known.

The 1990 Census of Population of the United States is the primary data source in this study. It is the most recent source of a wealth of data on the languages spoken by the U.S. population. Respondents (aged 5 and over) who completed the "long form" questionnaire were asked if they spoke a language

Table 1

Population Speaking a Language other than English at Home by Place of Birth and Citizenship, Persons Aged 5 and Over, 1990 U.S. Census (percent)

	Place of Birth				Citizenship Status[c]	
	Native Born[a]	Born in US Territories[b]	Foreign Born	Total	Citizen	Not Citizen
Percent of U.S. Population	90.9	0.6	8.5	100.0	94.6	5.4
Percent Speaking:						
Only English at Home	92.7	13.5	20.9	86.2	90.3	15.5
A Language other than English	7.3	86.5	79.1	13.8	9.7	84.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes: [a] Born in one of the 50 States or the District of Columbia (includes those born abroad of American parents); [b] Of these, 86.7% were born in Puerto Rico and the remaining 13.3% in other U.S. territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific; [c] Persons aged 18 and older by whether they are citizens of the United States. (Unless specified otherwise, the data source for all of the statistical tables is the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population, Public Use Microdata File*, 1% sample.)

English at home, other than just a few words or phrases. If they did, they were asked to identify that language. Moreover, if they spoke a foreign language at home, they were also asked if they spoke English "Very Well," "Well," "Not Well" or "Not at All." (See Appendix for the 1990 Census questions on language usage.) The responses by individuals to these questions in the 1990 Census, as well as to the myriad questions on the demographic, sociological and economic characteristics of the population, have been put in a computer data file (microdata) that serves as the basis for the analyses reported in this study.

It should be of little surprise to be told that many individuals in the United States speak a language other than English at home, and that the extent of this practice depends on the birthplace of the individual. What may be a surprise, however, is the extent of the use of languages other than English among the various birthplace groups. Table 1 provides relevant information. It divides the U.S. population, aged 5 or more years, into three groups: the native born (defined as individuals born in the U.S. or born abroad of American parents), those born in Puerto Rico or another U.S. territory, and foreign born individuals. It also provides a further sub-division of the population aged 18 or more years, the voting age population, by whether or not they are U.S. citizens.

Fourteen percent of the U.S. population speaks a language other than English at home. While only 7 percent of those born in the U.S. fall into this category, 87 percent of those born in a U.S. territory and 79 percent of the foreign born reported speaking a language other than English (Table 1).

Nearly 95 percent of residents aged 18 or older are citizens of the United States (Table 1). Among these, 90 percent speak only English at home. Among the 5 percent of the U.S. population who are not citizens, however, only 16 percent speak only English at home.

If speaking a language other than English is of import in American society, then the data in Table 1 indicate that the issue may be of major significance. Those who speak a language other than English at home may be part of an advantaged group in American society who are bilingual and multicultural, or part of a cultural elite, who reap rewards associated with this status. There have been a number of studies that have established that bilingualism can lead to higher paying positions in labor market settings where more than one language is used regularly. Analyses of the 1981 Census of Canada reported in Chiswick and Miller (1988), for example, show that English-French bilinguals are among the highest paid in Canada, where English and French are official languages.

Speaking a language other than English at home may, however, be indicative of circumstances that disadvantage the individual. These circumstances include a lack of proficiency in English that impedes the social, economic and political adjustment of the person in American society, and an inward-looking perspective that promotes the growth of ethnic ghettos based on language use. A study of the 1980 U.S. Census by Chiswick and Miller (1992), for example, shows that, other factors being equal, immigrants in the United States who are not proficient in English have earnings approximately 17 percent lower than do immigrants who are proficient in English.

It is important, therefore, to understand the characteristics of the 14 percent of the U.S. population who speak a language other than English in order to determine why they are in such a group, and to assess the extent of any advantage or disadvantage associated with membership in a particular language group.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE SKILLS

If a person spoke a language other than English at home, that individual was asked by the 1990 Census to identify the language. If the person spoke more than one language other than English, the person was to report the language spoken more often or the language learned first. Table 2 presents summary statistics on the relative frequency of the 25 languages most often cited. The 8 most frequently cited languages are Spanish, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Tagalog, Polish, and Korean, reflecting Latin American, European and Asian origins.

The most obvious feature of Table 2 is the dominance of Spanish: over one-half of individuals who speak a language other than English in the home speak Spanish. This is close to 100 percent for those born in the U.S. territories, reflecting the presence of individuals born in Puerto Rico in this category. Of the native born who speak a language other than English in the home, 58 percent speak Spanish, compared to 48 percent of the foreign born.

Three European languages, French, German and Italian, are next in terms of frequency, and these are spoken by 5.3, 4.9 and 4.1 percent of the group of second language speakers, respectively. Several Asian languages have a high representation, namely Chinese (3.9 percent), Korean (2.0 percent), Vietnamese (1.6 percent), and Japanese (1.3 percent). It is also noteworthy that the Navaho language ranks twenty-third and is as important as all other American Indian (i.e., Native American) languages combined.[1]

There are some differences between the native born and foreign born in terms of the frequency of languages other than Spanish. Chinese, for example, is

Table 2
Languages other than English Spoken at Home, Persons Aged 5 and Over by Place of Birth, 1990 US Census
(percent)

Language	Native Born	US Terr	Foreign Born	U.S. Population	Language	Native Born	US Terr	Foreign Born	U.S. Population
Spanish	58.4	96.9	47.6	54.6	Yiddish	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.7
French	8.5	0.4	2.5	5.3	Thai	0.2	0.0	1.1	0.6
German	6.6	0.0	3.5	4.9	Persian	0.2	0.0	1.1	0.6
Italian	5.3	0.1	3.2	4.1	French Creole	0.3	0.0	0.9	0.6
Chinese	1.4	0.0	6.6	3.9	Armenian	0.3	0.0	0.8	0.5
Tagalog	0.6	0.1	4.7	2.6	Hebrew	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.5
Polish	2.9	0.0	1.8	2.2	Dutch	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.5
Korean	0.6	0.0	3.5	2.0	Navaho	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.5
Vietnamese	0.5	0.1	2.9	1.6	Hungarian	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.5
Japanese	1.2	0.1	1.5	1.3	Mon-Khmer	0.1	0.0	0.8	0.4
Portuguese	0.9	0.1	1.8	1.3	Other Amer. Indian[a]	1.3	0.0	0.1	0.6
Greek	1.3	0.0	1.2	1.2	Other Languages[b]	5.0	2.1	7.5	6.1
Arabic	0.6	0.0	1.6	1.1	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Hindi	0.3	0.0	1.9	1.1	Number ('000)	15244.7	1149.4	15391.0	31785.1
Russian	0.4	0.0	1.2	0.8	Nativity Group (%)	48.0	3.6	48.4	100.0

Notes: [a] = Includes the languages of Alaskan Natives and Latin American indigenous peoples; [b] = Includes specific languages not reported. 0.0 means less than one-twentieth of one percent.

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the sixth most frequent language among the native born, but the second most frequent language among the foreign born. French is the second most frequent language among the native born, but only the eighth most frequent language among the foreign born. These opposing trends presumably reflect changes in immigration over the century, with recent decades having witnessed a pronounced shift away from European and Canadian origins in favor of predominantly Asian and Latin American origins. The changes in the source countries of immigration flows and the implications of these changes for the United States population and labor market are documented in Chiswick and Sullivan (1995).

Data on the distribution of various language groups by age and state of residence are presented in Table 3.[2] This table disaggregates the information on the basis of nativity and language group. The Spanish language was found to be so dominant in Table 2 that it is analyzed separately from all other languages.

The main feature of Table 3 concerns the age distribution of the native born. It is apparent that those in the Spanish language group have a greater relative frequency among the 5- to 17-year-old age group than do either the native born in other language groups or the U.S. population in general: hence, whereas only 22.3 percent of the native born who speak a language other than English or Spanish at home were aged 5 to 17, 35.7 percent of the native born who speak Spanish at home are between the ages of 5 and 17. In comparison, 20 percent of the total U.S. population is aged 5 to 17 years. Spanish, therefore, is a language currently used by many youths at home. These are the U.S.-born children of Hispanic immigrants whose numbers have increased in the past few decades, and their presence assures the continued use of Spanish in the U.S. In comparison, the other languages are less prevalent among the native born young, and their long-term position in the U.S. is not as strong as is that of Spanish. The immigrant groups who speak languages other than English and Spanish at home are older than the U.S. population in general, a discrepancy that reflects their longer duration of residence and the greater likelihood of having migrated without young children.

There is an intense geographic concentration of foreign language speakers. More than half of the native-born Spanish speakers are located in just two states, California and Texas, although these states account for only 19 percent of the total U.S. population. Moreover, almost three-fourths of native-born Spanish speakers are to be found in only six states: California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois and New Jersey. These six states contain 40 percent of the native born who speak a language other than English or Spanish at home

Table 3
Age and State of Residence of Persons Aged 5 and Over Speaking a Language other than English at Home, by Spanish/Non-Spanish Language and by Nativity, 1990 US Census

	Native Born		US Territories		Foreign Born		US(a) Population
	Spanish	Other	Spanish	Other	Spanish	Other	
Age							
5–17	35.7	22.3	11.5	16.7	11.9	9.1	19.6
18–24	15.3	10.8	10.3	13.8	16.8	9.7	11.4
25–64	43.9	42.4	68.8	62.9	64.6	66.2	55.4
65+	5.1	24.5	9.4	6.6	6.7	15.0	13.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
State							
California	25.3	11.6	3.5	42.1	43.4	29.7	11.9
Texas	26.9	3.4	1.9	4.4	13.9	3.6	6.7
New York	7.8	11.9	38.6	5.9	9.7	16.2	7.2
Florida	5.2	4.2	11.3	6.4	11.9	4.5	5.3
Illinois	3.6	4.9	5.1	0.5	4.6	5.7	4.5
New Jersey	2.4	4.5	12.1	0.6	3.7	6.0	3.1
Other States	28.7	59.6	27.5	40.1	12.6	34.4	61.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	8,903.5	6,341.1	1,113.7	35.7	7,333.6	8,057.4	229,867.3

Note: (a) U.S. Population refers to all persons aged 5 and over, including those who speak only English at home.

and around 40 percent of the total U.S. population. Hence, the geographic concentration of speakers of languages other than Spanish is less intense than is the case for Spanish speakers.

Among those born in U.S. territories, primarily Puerto Rico, almost 40 percent reside in New York State, with Florida and New Jersey being other major locations for this group.

Among the foreign born who speak Spanish at home, 43 percent are located in California, 14 percent in Texas and 12 percent in Florida. Fully 87 percent of the foreign born who speak Spanish at home reside in the six states identified in Table 3. On the other hand, 66 percent of immigrants who speak a

Table 4
English Language Fluency among Persons Aged 5 and Over Speaking a Language other than English at Home, by Spanish/Non-Spanish Language and by Nativity and Citizenship, 1990 US Census
(Percent)

	Place of Birth						U.S. Citizenship Status			
	Native Born		US Territories		Foreign Born		Citizen[a]		Non-citizen[b]	
	Spanish	Other	Spanish	Other	Spanish	Other	Spanish	Other	Spanish	Other
Speaks English (%)										
Very Well	70.8	75.1	46.7	73.1	30.3	49.3	64.1	68.4	22.6	41.1
Well	19.1	17.1	27.2	20.7	24.4	30.0	20.6	22.7	22.6	29.0
Not Well	8.9	7.4	18.9	5.7	27.9	16.4	12.1	8.4	32.2	22.0
Not at All	1.1	0.5	7.1	0.6	17.4	4.3	3.3	0.6	22.6	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nativity/Language Or Citizenship Group (%)	28.0	19.9	3.5	0.1	23.1	25.3	33.4	33.4	18.3	14.8
Number ('000)	8,903.5	6,341.1	1,113.7	35.7	7,333.6	8,057.4	8,506.0	8,505.9	4,667.5	3,778.3

Notes: [a] = Persons aged 18 and older who are citizens of the United States; [b] = Persons aged 18 and older who are not citizens of the United States.

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language other than English or Spanish at home reside in these states. California and New York are most important in this regard. These data point to a geographic concentration of immigrants who speak a language other than English or Spanish, as well as to a pronounced concentration of all Spanish-speaking nativity groups.

One of the paramount factors in regard to the economic well-being of individuals who speak a language other than English is whether they are also fluent in English. Indeed, it will be shown that fluency in English is a key to economic success in the U.S. Bilingualism may enhance economic opportunities, whereas monolingualism in a language other than English may retard opportunities. Table 4 provides information on English language fluency among persons aged 5 and over who speak a language other than English at home. Data are not available on the English language fluency of those who speak only English at home. Again, this information is disaggregated by Spanish/non-Spanish language and by nativity. Information is also presented separately for citizens and noncitizens.

Among the native born, there are minor differences between the Spanish language group and other language groups. Thus, around 90 percent of the native born who speak a language other than English at home speak English either "very well" or "well." Seven to 9 percent of the group speak English "not well," and 1 percent or less do not speak English or speak it very poorly. Note, however, that monolingual English speakers are excluded from this table, and the data presented in Table 1 revealed that 93 percent of the native born speak only English at home. When monolingual English speakers are included, the rate of English language fluency among the native born rises to 99 percent, where fluency is defined as speaking only English or, where a language other than English is spoken at home, being able to speak English either "very well" or "well."

Among the respondents from the U.S. territories and the foreign born, it is apparent that there are some noteworthy differences between the Spanish and other language groups. Consider the foreign born: here only 55 percent of the Spanish language group are fluent in English, compared to almost 80 percent of the other language groups. Or to put this another way, 45 percent of the Spanish group lack English language fluency, as do only 20 percent of the other language groups. Moreover, 17 percent of the group who speak Spanish at home reported that they could not speak English at all, compared to only 4 percent of the non-Spanish group of non-English language speakers. While this table does not include individuals who speak only English, taking account of this group results in the finding that 26 percent of the foreign born are not fluent in English. The lack of English language skills among so many immigrants may constitute a major impediment to the economic progress of immigrants in the U.S. labor market (see below).

Language skills vary according to citizenship, and there are differences between the Spanish and non-Spanish language groups (Table 4). Among U.S. citizens aged 18 or more years who speak Spanish at home, 64 percent report that they speak English "very well," and 21 percent, "well." Around 15 percent of the group have poor English language skills, i.e., described as "not well" or "not at all." U.S. citizens who speak a language other than English or Spanish in the home have a facility in English that is only marginally superior to that of the Spanish-speaking group: 68 percent and 23 percent report their English skills as very good and good, respectively, while only 9 percent describe their English skills as poor.

In contrast to these data for citizens, the information for noncitizens in Table 4 reveals a much lower level of English-language proficiency and also greater differences between the Spanish and other second-language groups. Thus, 41 percent of noncitizens speaking a language other than English or Spanish at home report their English skills as very good, compared to 23 percent for the Spanish-speaking group. The comparable figures for the good language skill category are 29 percent and 23 percent, respectively. And, while 30 percent of noncitizens speaking a language other than English or Spanish at home report their ability in English as poor, fully 55 percent of the Spanish-speaking noncitizens classified their English-language skills in this way.

In summary, English language fluency is related to both citizenship and language background. Spanish speakers are less likely to be proficient in English than are other second-language speakers, and noncitizens are far less likely to be proficient in English than are naturalized citizens.

In addition to age and state of residence, educational attainment and duration of residence in the U.S. may also be important influences on an individual's language skills. These factors will not only influence second-language retention, but may also affect the individual's proficiency in English. Chiswick and Miller (1992; 1995), for example, show that there is a strong positive relationship between educational attainment and proficiency in English among immigrants from countries in which English is not the primary language. For these immigrants, the positive effect on English fluency of schooling received before immigration may reflect the curriculum of the school attended, with second-language skills being learned only in the more advanced grades. More generally, it is likely that those with more schooling

Table 5
Educational Attainment Completed among Persons Aged 25 to 64 Who Speak a Language other than English at Home, by Spanish/Non-Spanish Language and by Nativity, 1990 US Census
(Percent)

Education	Native Born		US Territories		Foreign Born		Total[a]	US
(years)	Spanish	Other	Spanish	Other	Spanish	Other		Pop.[b]
0 to 8	12.9	8.5	26.4	8.3	41.7	14.6	21.2	6.6
9 to 11	14.4	9.3	21.1	9.1	11.9	6.2	10.7	9.4
12	30.9	30.7	29.5	43.8	22.9	24.6	26.7	33.8
13 to 15	26.8	26.6	15.2	30.9	14.9	21.4	21.4	27.5
16	9.8	15.4	4.7	4.1	5.0	19.2	12.0	14.7
16+	5.2	9.6	3.1	3.8	3.6	14.0	8.0	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number ('000)	3909.9	2689.1	766.5	22.4	4739.8	5337.4	17465.2	127443.1

Notes: [a] Total refers to individuals aged 25 to 64 who speak a language other than English at home; [b] U.S. Population refers to all persons aged 25 to 64, including those who speak only English at home.

would be more proficient in acquiring language skills. In addition, the positive relationship between educational attainment and English-language proficiency could be the outcome of a third process, in which those with higher levels of ability acquire more schooling and are more capable of mastering other skills, such as learning a second language.

Table 5 presents data on the distribution of the various nativity and language groups across educational attainment among those 25 to 64 years of age. The data reveal that individuals who speak a language other than English at home have lower educational attainment than does the U.S. population in general. Thus, 21 percent of 25- to 64-year-olds who speak a language other than English at home have 0–8 years of education, and 11 percent have 9–11 years of education. This compares with 7 and 9 percent, respectively, among the U.S. population in general. At the other end of the education spectrum, 12 percent of those who speak a language other than English at home have 16 years of education, and 8 percent have more than 16 years of education. The comparable figures are quite similar for the U.S. population, 15 percent and 8 percent, respectively.

Another pattern that is evident in the data in Table 5 is the difference between the Spanish and other language groups. For each nativity group, the Spanish language group has a lower educational attainment. For example, consider the foreign born who speak a language other than English in the home: 42 percent of the Spanish language group are in the 0–8 years education category compared to 15 percent of the other language groups, while 12 percent of the foreign-born Spanish language group are in the next higher education category, 9–11 years, compared to 6 percent of the other language groups. These data reflect two related factors—the relatively low level of skill of immigrants of Hispanic origin, and the positive links between educational attainment and English language skills.

An additional factor that may affect the language retention and language skills of the foreign born is the length of time they have lived in the U.S. The longer a person lives in the U.S., the more likely it is that he or she will acquire some English language skills or will improve existing skills. This adjustment factor has been emphasized in studies of the economic adjustment of immigrants, which focus on the determinants of earnings and occupational attainment. Language skills can be acquired merely by living and interacting with others in a language environment, even if there is no formal training.

Age at immigration is also likely to be important. Immigrants arriving as youths are likely to gain greater fluency in English than are older immigrants with the same number of years in the U.S. Children have a facility for acquiring new spoken-language skills, which diminishes sharply as they become adults. In addition, youths gain a more intensive exposure to English through schools than adults gain at home or in the labor market, and thus rapidly acquire fluency in English. Furthermore, the benefits accruing to language skills will tend to be greater among youths, due to the complementary nature of dominant-language skills and other skills, such as mastering school subjects, and the longer period over which they can reap the benefits from knowing English.

Tables 6 and 7 present information on language skills in relation to duration of residence in the U.S. Separate tables are presented for youths aged 5 to 17 years and for adults aged 25 to 64 years. Individuals who speak only English at home are also included in these tables.

The first thing to note about Table 6 is that the proportion speaking only English rises rapidly with duration of residence. Thus, among the group of recent arrivals aged 5 to 17, only 15.4 percent speak only English. But, among the longest duration category for 5- to 17-year-olds, 11 to 17 years of residence, 44.9 percent speak only English at home. Around one-half of recent

Table 6
Language Skills by Duration of Residence in the United States for Youths Aged 5 to 17 Years, Foreign Born, 1990 US Census
(Percent)

Duration (Years)	Speaks Only English at Home	Speaks Spanish At Home		Speaks Other Languages at Home		Total
		Speaks English Very Well or Well	Speaks English Not Well or Not at All	Speaks English Very Well or Well	Speaks English Not Well or Not at All	
0 to 3	15.4	23.6	25.0	23.6	12.3	100.0
4 to 5	25.1	31.1	12.1	27.3	4.4	100.0
6 to 10	29.3	35.5	4.1	28.7	2.4	100.0
11 to 17	44.9	31.5	2.0	20.6	0.9	100.0
Total	27.8	30.4	11.2	25.2	5.3	100.0

arrivals speak Spanish at home, whereas this falls to about one-third among the longest duration of residence category.

It is interesting to note that, among the Spanish speakers in the U.S. for three or fewer years, those with good English skills and with inferior English skills are of equal size. However, few are categorized as having inferior language skills among the 11–17-years-duration category. Individuals who arrive in the U.S. as youths, therefore, rapidly acquire English language skills. Other language groups account for approximately 36 percent of the recent arrivals and 22 percent of longer-term immigrants. Again, there is clear evidence of a rapid English learning process among individuals who migrate while young.

A similar story pertains for those persons, 25 to 64 years of age, documented in Table 7. In this instance, the percent speaking only English rises from 13 percent among recent arrivals to 45 percent among longer-term settlers. Unlike the case of 5- to 17-year-olds where the Spanish language group dominated, the recent arrivals among the 25- to 64-year-olds are dominated by other language groups (51 percent of the total). Spanish and the other language groups are equally likely to be found among the duration category of 6 to 10 years. However, there is a major difference in their language skills. Members of the Spanish language group are equally likely to have good or poor English language skills, whereas members of the other language groups are more likely to have good English language skills (33 percent) than they are to

Table 7
Language Skills by Duration of Residence in the United States for Adults Aged 25 to 64 Years, Foreign Born, 1990 US Census
(Percent)

Duration (Years)	Speaks Only English at Home	Speaks Spanish At Home		Speaks Other Languages at Home		Total
		Speaks English Very Well or Well	Speaks English Not Well or Not at All	Speaks English Very Well or Well	Speaks English Not Well or Not at All	
0 to 3	13.1	12.1	24.1	32.1	18.6	100.0
4 to 5	12.0	15.8	26.1	32.7	13.3	100.0
6 to 10	12.6	20.5	23.2	33.0	10.6	100.0
11 to 20	16.0	24.9	18.6	34.3	6.3	100.0
21 to 30	30.8	29.5	10.9	26.1	2.7	100.0
31+	45.3	21.1	5.4	26.4	1.8	100.0
Total	22.3	22.4	17.0	30.8	7.5	100.0

have poor English language skills (11 percent). Among the longest duration category included in Table 7, 31 or more years, 5.4 percent are Spanish speakers who still have poor English skills, while only 1.8 percent of the other language groups have poor English skills.

Again, there is evidence of considerable improvement in English language skills with duration of residence, though this improvement is not as pronounced for the Spanish language group as it is for the other language groups. Moreover, the improvement in language skills with duration of residence is not as rapid for the 25- to 64-year-old age bracket (Table 7) as it is for the 5- to 17-year-old age bracket (Table 6). Clearly, age, or age at migration to the U.S., is an important factor determining language attainment.

Table 8 presents information on a number of the socioeconomic characteristics of the foreign born by language group to provide a fuller statistical portrait of these populations.[3] The first column of data lists information on the relative importance of the different language groups, including the monolingual English speakers, among the foreign born. One item of particular interest is that Spanish speakers outnumber monolingual English speakers among the foreign born by almost two to one.

Table 8
Selected Characteristics of the Foreign Born by Language Spoken at Home, 1990 US Census

Language	Foreign Born (%)	School Enrollment Rate, Ages 15–17	Fraction 12 or More Years of Schooling, Ages 25–64	Earnings, Males Ages 25–64 ($)	Fraction 15 or More Years in US	Fertility: No Children Ever Born, Women 15–30	Fertility: Number of Children Born, Women 45–64	Fraction Females 25–64 in Labor Force	Fraction US Citizens, Ages 25–64
English Only	20.9	0.91	0.86	34,105.	0.64	0.64	2.51	0.69	0.52
Spanish	37.6	0.79	0.46	16,671.	0.42	0.47	3.47	0.61	0.29
Chinese	5.3	0.96	0.78	24,291.	0.28	0.81	3.00	0.68	0.47
Tagalog	3.9	0.92	0.91	25,941.	0.35	0.64	3.07	0.84	0.57
German	2.7	0.88	0.86	38,417.	0.78	0.60	2.17	0.60	0.59
Korean	2.7	0.95	0.88	27,915.	0.24	0.68	2.60	0.61	0.43
Italian	2.5	(a)	0.55	29,536.	0.85	0.66	2.60	0.57	0.66
Vietnamese	2.2	0.95	0.73	19,505.	0.06	0.73	3.99	0.63	0.49
French	2.0	0.90	0.84	30,580.	0.50	0.67	2.41	0.68	0.38
Polish	1.5	0.92	0.79	25,335.	0.43	0.63	2.16	0.70	0.45
Portuguese	1.5	0.88	0.51	23,843.	0.52	0.62	2.72	0.69	0.38
Hindi	1.5	0.94	0.90	34,269.	0.25	0.61	2.90	0.60	0.38
Arabic	1.3	0.92	0.83	26,267.	0.31	0.55	3.36	0.43	0.52
Japanese	1.3	0.95	0.93	47,644.	0.40	0.78	1.89	0.43	0.25
Russian	0.9	0.90	0.89	23,643.	0.15	0.65	1.67	0.63	0.51
Persian	0.9	0.95	0.94	31,094.	0.15	0.74	3.09	0.55	0.28
Thai	0.9	0.93	0.65	17,535.	0.20	0.61	3.16	0.65	0.27
Greek	0.9	(a)	0.62	28,871.	0.76	0.61	2.22	0.55	0.69
Fre. Creole	0.7	0.92	0.63	14,950.	0.24	0.58	3.32	0.79	0.24
Mon-Khmer	0.6	0.93	0.43	12,032.	0.02	0.58	4.75	0.40	0.21
Armenian	0.6	0.93	0.70	25,495.	0.25	0.67	2.40	0.47	0.43
Hungarian	0.5	(a)	0.85	35,466.	0.74	0.70	1.94	0.63	0.75
Dutch	0.4	(a)	0.91	37,852.	0.70	0.70	2.68	0.61	0.50
Hebrew	0.4	0.97	0.93	40,082.	0.36	0.65	2.50	0.56	0.51
Yiddish	0.4	(a)	0.74	28,199.	0.83	(a)	3.34	0.40	0.81
Other Languages[b]	6.1	0.93	0.83	28,879.	0.36	0.65	2.61	0.74	0.42
Total	100.0	0.86	0.68	24,540.	0.45	0.57	2.84	0.64	0.41

Notes: [a] = Fewer than 3,000 individuals in the population (weighted); [b] = Includes specific language not reported.

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The second column of Table 8 gives information on the fraction of the population, aged 15 to 17, enrolled at school. The mean rate for the foreign born is 86 percent, and the range is from 79 percent (Spanish) to 97 percent (Hebrew). A general pattern emerges: the Asian language groups have relatively high rates of school enrollment, followed by the European language groups, while the Spanish language group has the lowest rate. The school enrollment rate of 79 percent for the Spanish language group is 9 percentage points lower than that of the groups with the next lowest level of participation in schooling (German and Portuguese).

The data on the fraction of the various language groups with 12 or more years of schooling among adults, presented in the third column of Table 8, mirror, in some ways, the information on school enrollment. However, there are some important differences, which can be explained by drawing attention to the three main features of the data. The first, and most prominent, feature is the very low level of educational attainment of the Spanish language group. For those aged 25–64, only 46 percent of the Spanish language group have 12 or more years of schooling, compared to 68 percent overall. The second feature is the tendency for many European language groups to have relatively low levels of schooling (e.g., Italian, Portuguese), while many Asian language groups have relatively high educational attainments. The third feature, which points to interesting intergenerational characteristics of language groups, is that many of the language groups with a high proportion of recent arrivals have low levels of educational attainment among the adult population, but high youth school enrollment rates. For example, the Mon-Khmer language group has only 43 percent of adults with 12 or more years of educational attainment, which is well below average, but a 15- to 17-year-old school enrollment rate of 93 percent, which is average. Less extreme but similar patterns are found among the Thai, French Creole, and Armenian speakers.

The mean earnings of males aged 25 to 64 by language group are reported in Table 8, column 4. For all foreign born the mean is $24,540. Language groups having mean earnings well above average include Japanese ($47,644), Hebrew ($40,082), German ($38,417) and Dutch ($37,852). At the other end of the spectrum, the Mon-Khmer (Cambodian and Hmong) ($12,032), French Creole ($14,950), Spanish ($16,671), Thai ($17,535) and Vietnamese ($19,505) language groups have mean earnings well below average. Groups with earnings below average tend also to have educational attainments below average, poor English skills, and, with the exception of Spanish speakers, have been in the U.S. for relatively short periods of time. The links between earnings, educational attainment and duration of residence will be analyzed formally in the analysis of earnings that is presented below.

Column 5 in Table 8 gives the fraction of each language group that has been in the U.S. for 15 or more years. Across all language groups the mean is 0.45, indicating that 45 percent of foreign born residents have been in the U.S. for 15 or more years. The range in values is from 0.06 (Vietnamese language group) to 0.85 (Italian language group). In addition to the Vietnamese, the Chinese, Korean, Hindi, Russian, Persian, Thai, French Creole, Mon-Khmer and Armenian are the language groups where the speakers are predominately recent arrivals.

Information on two dimensions of fertility are presented in the next section of Table 8: column 6 reports the proportion of women in the 15- to 30-year-old age range who are childless, while column 7 reports the number of children ever born to women aged 45 to 64. The first set of data provide information on trends in fertility among the younger generation, while the second provides a measure of past fertility among older women. The mean number of children ever born per woman, aged 45 to 64, is 2.84. Language groups with relatively high levels of fertility include Mon-Khmer (almost five children per female aged 45 to 64), Vietnamese (4.0 children), Spanish (3.5 children), Arabic (3.4 children) and Yiddish (3.3 children). Language groups in which the number of children per female aged 45 to 64 is relatively low include Russian (1.67), Japanese (1.89), Hungarian (1.94), German and Polish (2.2 children per woman aged 45–64). Most other language groups have close to the average of 2.8 children per woman aged 45 to 64.

The pattern of fertility among the younger age groups differs by language group. Thus, whereas 57 percent of the total sample of 15- to 30-year-olds is childless, among the Spanish language group the comparable figure is only 47 percent. Indeed, the Spanish language group has the lowest level of childlessness and the highest level of fertility. At the other end of the spectrum, however, the Chinese, Japanese, and Persian language groups are characterized by relatively high levels of childlessness among young women, due to either low rates of fertility or considerable delays in commencing a family.

The proportion of females aged 25 to 64 who participate in the labor force is presented in column 8 of Table 8. The mean participation rate is 64 percent, although there is considerable variation around this mean. For example, females who speak Tagalog at home have a labor force participation rate of 84 percent, and those who speak French Creole have a labor force participation rate of 79 percent. The language groups for which women are least likely to be in the labor force are the Yiddish (40 percent participation rate), Mon-Khmer (40 percent), Arabic (43 percent) and Japanese (43 percent).

Citizenship rates also vary across the language groups. The highest rates of citizenship are among the European language groups (German, Italian, Greek, Hungarian, but not French), while the lowest rates are among the Spanish (29 percent), Japanese (25 percent), Thai (27 percent), French Creole (24 percent), and Mon-Khmer (21 percent) language groups.

Some of the associations discussed in relation to Table 8 may be the result of the language category of the individual, while others may have been responsible, in part at least, for membership in the particular language category. For example, the differences in mean earnings of the various language groups may result from the way particular language skills are rewarded in the labor market. However, the language group that the individual is a member of may be determined, in part, by the marital circumstances of the individual. Chiswick and Miller (1995), for example, demonstrated that the foreign born who immigrate with a spouse are more likely to retain their language of origin than are those who marry after immigration or who remain unmarried.

Table 9 permits a more in-depth study of the links between labor market success, as measured by earnings, and language skills. It lists the mean earnings of males aged 25 to 64 who worked in 1989. The means are reported by language skills and by nativity. Reading across the rows of the table gives an indication of the relative earnings of the various broad birthplace groups. Consider the first row for monolingual English speakers: for this group the mean earnings of those born in the U.S. territories, at $27,260, are 16 percent lower than the mean earnings ($32,315) of the native born. In comparison, the mean earnings of the foreign born, at $37,694, exceed by 17 percent the mean earnings of the native born. Recall that these nativity groups differ in terms of educational attainment, years of labor force experience and other characteristics that affect labor market outcomes such as earnings. Hence, the differentials in earnings should be considered only as a crude indicator of the relative labor market position of the various groups. A more accurate assessment of the relative advantage or disadvantage of the nativity groups is provided below, where regression analysis is employed to effect standardized comparisons across nativity groups.

Reading down the columns of Table 9 provides insights into the impact of language skills on earnings. Consider the data for the foreign born for whom language skills matter the most: for the Spanish language group there is a pronounced positive relationship between mean earnings and language skills. Individuals who speak Spanish at home and speak English "well" have mean earnings of $19,653, around 25 percent below their Spanish-speaking counterparts who speak English "very well." Members of the Spanish language

Table 9
Mean Earnings of Males Aged 25–64 Who Worked in 1989 by Language Skills and Nativity, 1990[a] (Dollars)

Language Skills	Native Born	US Territories	Foreign Born	US Population
Speaks Only English at Home	32,315	27,260	37,694	32,428
Speaks Spanish and Speaks English:				
Very Well	25,987	23,902	26,155	25,896
Well	21,664	20,039	19,653	20,253
Not Well	23,258	16,953	14,438	15,736
Not at All	16,649	17,303	11,316	11,638
Speaks Language Other than Spanish and Speaks English:				
Very Well	31,833	23,805	37,300	34,931
Well	26,406	(b)	27,681	27,416
Not Well	27,675	(b)	20,683	22,074
Not at All	(b)	(b)	15,604	16,063

Notes: [a] = Earnings are wage, salary and self-employment income; [b] = fewer than 3,000 individuals in the population (weighted).

group who speak English "not well" have earnings 45 percent below the members of the top language proficiency category. Monolingual Spanish speakers have earnings of only $11,316, which is 57 percent less than the earnings of the Spanish language group who speak English "very well." This pattern is repeated for the other nativity groups, although the distinction between the "well" and "not well" proficiency groups, which is a feature of the data for the foreign born and those born in the U.S. territories, is not evident in the case of the native born.

A third piece of information that can be extracted from Table 9 is the importance of language group *per se*. Thus, if English-Spanish bilinguals are defined as those who speak Spanish at home and who speak English very well, then it is apparent that English-Spanish bilinguals earn considerably less than do monolingual English speakers for each nativity group. The disadvantage is around 12 percent for those born in the U.S. territories, 20 percent for the native born, and 31 percent for the foreign born.

In comparison, while English-Other language speakers originally from the U.S. territories earn less than do monolingual English speakers, native born and foreign born English-Other language bilinguals earn approximately the same as do monolingual English speakers.[4] For the U.S. population as a whole, those who are fully proficient in English, yet speak another language at home (other than Spanish), earn 8 percent more than do those who speak only English.

Hence, the Table 9 data show that birthplace, language background and language skill affect outcomes in the U.S. labor market. It is also apparent from the data that language skills are important for both the foreign born and the native born. With respect to the native born, it is of interest to relate language skills and language use to ancestry. This permits some insights into the important matter of language shift.

Table 10 lists information on second language usage by the native born according to ethnic ancestry. Thus, column 1 lists 14 ancestry groups constructed from the detailed information on ethnic ancestry available in the Census data files. Apart from three categories of noncodable responses placed at the end, these groups are listed in order of numerical importance, with the proportions reported in column 2. Hence, the first ancestry group, "Other European," comprises 40 percent of the native-born population aged 5 and over. The second group, "English-speaking ancestries," comprises 24 percent, while the third most important group is African-Americans, who account for 10 percent of the population. Column 3 lists the percentage of each ancestry group that speaks only English at home. For the first four groups this is 95 percent or higher. However, for some groups, such as the Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban ancestry groups, relatively few speak only English at home. For example, among the native born of Mexican ancestry, only 35.3 percent speak only English at home. This figure indicates a very low level of language shift away from Spanish towards English.

The final column in Table 10 lists the three most frequent non-English languages spoken by the native born, together with the percentages of individuals who speak these languages. The predominance of Spanish among the "top" languages is interesting. Among Hispanic origin ancestry groups (e.g., Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans), Spanish is almost exclusively the alternative language used at home. Among the native born who report an "Other European" ancestry, Spanish, Italian and German are the most frequent non-English languages. Among the native born declaring an African-American ancestry, Spanish, French and German are the most frequent languages spoken in homes where non-English languages are used. The Table 10 informa-

Table 10
Languages Spoken at Home, Native Born Aged 5 and Over by Ancestry Group, 1990 US Census(a)

Ancestry	Percent of Total Population	Percent Speaking Only English	Top Three non-English Languages (% speaking these languages)
Other than English speaking European	40.0	94.9	Spanish (17.3), Italian (16.9), German (16.6), Others (49.2)
English Speaking	24.0	97.9	Spanish (53.4), French (21.3), German (10.9), Others (14.4)
African American	10.1	96.9	Spanish (57.2), French (23.0), German (7.3), Others (12.4)
"American"(b)	7.0	96.2	Spanish (41.6), French (30.1), German (8.4), Others (19.8)
Mexican	3.4	35.3	Spanish (99.7), Others (0.3)
Native American (Indian)	2.1	90.5	Navaho (28.1), Spanish (20.2), French (4.7), Others (46.9)
Asian & Pacific Islanders	1.0	68.6	Chinese (27.7), Japanese (17.7), Tagalog (11.0), Others (43.6)
Other Hispanic	0.8	42.4	Spanish (94.1), Fr.Creole (2.6), French (2.0), Others (1.2)
Puerto Rican	0.4	27.4	Spanish (99.7), Others (0.3)
Middle East	0.4	78.5	Arabic (37.8), Armenian (19.8), Spanish (9.5), Others (33.0)
Cuban	0.1	26.3	Spanish (99.7), Others (0.3)
Uncodable	0.8	97.8	Spanish (49.7), French (15.6), German (11.4), Others (23.3)
Religion Response(c)	0.3	86.6	Yiddish (54.6), Hebrew (20.6), Spanish (10.4), Others (14.3)
Not Reported	9.6	94.5	Spanish (59.6), French (9.3), German (7.0), Others (24.1)
Total	100.0	92.7	Spanish (58.4), French (8.5) German (6.6), Others (26.5)

Notes: (a) = First ancestry reported in response to the question on the respondent's ancestry or ethnic origin; (b) = "American," "Yankee," "mixed," "Hillbilly," or similar response given to the question on ethnic ancestry; (c) = Single ancestry response that might reveal the person's religion.

tion, therefore, shows that even for the native born of various ethnic ancestries, the question of language is important, and Spanish has a predominant role, as it is reported by 58 percent of those speaking a language other than English, or by 4 percent of the native born population.

Finally, we examine the characteristics of those who speak Native American (i.e., American Indian) languages at home. They are a numerically small group, about 350,000 individuals, comprising just over 2 percent of all native-born persons reporting that they speak a language other than English at home, or just over one-tenth of one percent of the U.S. population. Among those who reported a Native American Indian ancestry (as their first ancestry), only 6 percent speak a native language, while in the smaller group that reported a Native American race (e.g., American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut) only 18 percent indicated speaking a native language at home.

Table 11 lists selected characteristics of those who, when at home, speak one of the 20 most common American Indian languages, together with summary information for all speakers of American Indian languages and comparison figures for the total U.S. population. The first column indicates the relative importance of the various native languages. The Navaho language is most prevalent, spoken by two-fifths (42 percent) of all individuals who speak Native American languages at home. Other languages of importance are Dakota, Yupik, Cherokee and Pima.

Table 11 also reports the age distribution of the Native American language groups. There is considerable variation across language groups in the proportion between the ages of 5 and 14. While the mean for all native language groups is 17 percent, the range is from a low of 2 percent for Cheyenne to highs of 29 percent for Choctaw and 21 percent for Navaho. This may reflect differential efforts across American Indian language groups towards native language retention, which involve encouraging children to speak the language at home. Alternatively, it may reflect different levels of fertility, such that greater proportions of the Choctaw and Navaho language groups, for example, are young. A striking feature of these data is the relatively low proportion older than age 64, reflecting high fertility rates, shorter life expectancy, and a decline in child mortality in recent decades.

The educational attainment of the Native American language speakers is also reported in Table 11. One-half of those who speak a Native American language at home have 12 or fewer years of education. Only 4 percent have 16 or more years of education. While there are some differences in the educational attainments of the individual language groups, the most striking feature of

Table 11

Selected Characteristics of Those Speaking Native American Languages at Home, 1990 US Census

Native American Language	Native American Languages (percent)	Age (fraction) Age 5–14	Age (fraction) Age 65+	Education (fraction) 1–12 years	Education (fraction) 16+ years	Native American Race (fraction)	Speaks English Very Well (fraction)	Primary States of Residence (percent)[a]
Navaho	41.6	0.21	0.06	0.53	0.02	0.99	0.58	Arizona (53.3), New Mexico (35.9)
Dakota	5.0	0.16	0.09	0.52	0.05	0.95	0.82	South Dakota (56.2), Montana (10.3)
Yupik	4.0	0.21	0.06	0.50	0.02	0.98	0.57	Alaska (100.0)
Cherokee	3.8	0.08	0.08	0.41	0.06	0.78	0.71	Oklahoma (49.4), North Carolina (6.5)
Pima	3.7	0.11	0.07	0.61	0.00	1.00	0.55	Arizona (97.3)
Choctaw	3.4	0.29	0.08	0.57	0.02	0.98	0.49	Mississippi (65.8), Oklahoma (28.2)
Apache	3.4	0.14	0.07	0.50	0.02	0.98	0.50	Arizona (84.4), New Mexico (9.2)
Keres	2.3	0.15	0.14	0.52	0.06	0.99	0.73	New Mexico (98.4)
Muskogee	2.2	0.10	0.14	0.50	0.08	0.79	0.52	Oklahoma (60.7), Florida (21.2)
Ojibwa	1.7	0.13	0.12	0.45	0.16	0.95	0.87	Minnesota (45.1), North Dakota (18.7)
Hopi	1.7	0.04	0.12	0.42	0.04	1.00	0.57	Arizona (94.3)
Eskimo	1.6	0.17	0.09	0.49	0.00	0.99	0.69	Alaska (96.5)
Inupik	1.4	0.11	0.16	0.53	0.02	1.00	0.76	Alaska (100.0)
Zuni	1.4	0.24	0.10	0.55	0.03	0.99	0.51	New Mexico (98.3)
Tewa	1.2	0.10	0.13	0.33	0.03	0.98	0.68	New Mexico (67.9), Arizona (24.1)
Tiwa	0.9	0.23	0.10	0.50	0.07	0.87	0.75	New Mexico (93.8), California (6.2)
Cheyenne	0.8	0.02	0.04	0.36	0.03	0.97	0.83	Montana (46.0), South Dakota (23.4)
Mohawk	0.7	0.12	0.13	0.53	0.03	0.80	0.80	New York (90.2)
Shoshoni	0.7	0.05	0.07	0.36	0.06	1.00	0.73	Idaho (47.2), Nevada (33.8)
American Indian[b]	4.6	0.09	0.13	0.44	0.13	0.75	0.77	California (12.9), Florida (7.7)
Other[c]	13.8	0.16	0.12	0.48	0.05	0.81	0.66	Oklahama (12.9), California (11.8)
Total	100.0	0.17	0.08	0.50	0.04	0.92	0.63	Arizona (31.8), New Mexico (21.4)[d]
U.S. Pop.	1.1[e]	0.15	0.14	0.35	0.15	0.01	0.94[f]	California (11.9), New York (7.2)[g]

Notes: [a] = Percent of those speaking the language; [b] = Specific Native American language not reported; [c] = Other Native American languages indigenous to the Western Hemisphere; [d] = Arizona and New Mexico, with 53.2% of the Native American language speakers, contain 1.5% and 0.6% of the total U.S. population, respectively; [e] = Native American language speakers as a percent of non-English language speakers; [f] = Speaks only English (86.2) or speaks English very well (7.7%). [g] = Percent of U.S. population in the two most populous states.

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these data is the comparison that can be made with the total U.S. population in the last row of Table 11. Among all Americans, only 35 percent have 12 or fewer years of education, and 15 percent have 16 or more years. The groups speaking Native American languages at home, therefore, are characterized by relatively low levels of educational attainment.

The fourth set of data in Table 11 shows the proportion of each of the Native American language speakers who report a Native American race (defined to include Aleuts, Eskimos and American Indian racial groups).[5] Overall, 93 percent of this group reports a Native American race; for many native language groups, reporting a Native American racial group is almost universal. Examples of these groups are the Navaho, Pima, Choctaw, Apache and Keres language groups. There are some language groups, however, in which the likelihood of being a member of an American Indian racial group is much lower, at around 80 percent. Examples of this among the more frequent native languages are the generic American Indian language (75 percent), and the Muskogee (79 percent) and Cherokee (78 percent) language groups.

The final set of information in Table 11 gives the proportion of each Native American language group that speaks English very well. Overall, the proportion for all Native American language groups is 63 percent; among the Navaho, it is 58 percent. For some language groups, such as the Choctaw, Apache and Muskogee, the proportion speaking English very well is only around one-half. For many other groups, however, facility in the English language is much better, with around 80 percent reporting that they could speak English very well. Examples here include the Dakota (82 percent) and Ojibwa (87 percent) language groups.

A MODEL OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE FLUENCY

Recent studies by Chiswick (1991) and Chiswick and Miller (1992; 1995) have developed the theory of the determination of language fluency. The modeling strategy employed in these studies reflects a human capital perspective. Human capital refers to investments that have three characteristics: first, they are embodied in the individual, unlike physical capital (e.g., a machine) that can be separated from the person; second, they are productive in the labor market or in consumption activities, that is, they raise labor market earnings or lower the cost of consumption; finally, they are created at a sacrifice (expenditure) of time and out-of-pocket resources. Language skills satisfy these three basic requirements.

The Theoretical Framework

The theory of English language acquisition has focused on immigrants, although it can, as shown below, be readily generalized to other groups. The focus on immigrants is due to their apparent greater sensitivity to the issues concerned. For immigrants, three conceptual variables have been identified as prime determinants of language fluency: economic incentives, exposure, and efficiency.

The data in Table 9 reveal that individuals who speak only English at home or, where a language other than English is spoken at home, speak English "very well" or "well," earn more than those who experience difficulties with the English language. The additional earnings that are associated with superior language skills form part of the economic incentive to improve language skills. Other economic incentives are greater productivity of investment in schooling, the lower rate of unemployment, and the decrease in the cost of consumption (e.g., lower costs of searching for favorable prices or a higher quality product) that appear to be associated with fluency in the English language.

The economic return of any skill, be it language fluency or training on the job, depends on the length of time the skill will be utilized. In the case of job training, the return on any investment will depend upon job tenure, and this is why it is often argued that women, who have a higher rate of job turnover and leave the labor market more frequently than men, invest in less on-the-job training than do their male counterparts. Similarly, employers are less willing to invest in the job skills of women.

Moreover, the profitability of the investment in English language fluency in the U.S. will depend on the probability of return migration. Immigrant groups with higher probabilities of returning to their country of origin will, on average, secure a relatively lower return on any investment in learning English. Consequently, low levels of English fluency would be expected among such groups. This explanation seems to have particular relevance for Mexican immigrants in the U.S., who have a higher rate of to and from migration than do other immigrant populations.

Exposure refers to learning by doing and the formal instruction aspects of acquiring fluency in the destination language. It includes the extent to which others, whether in person or through the media, use English in one's presence and the extent to which the person himself or herself utilizes English. Chiswick and Miller (1995) argue that exposure has three dimensions: exposure prior to immigration, duration of exposure in the destination, and the intensity of exposure per time unit.

Efficiency in English language acquisition is greater the closer the "linguistic distance" between English and the immigrant's mother tongue. For example, it is much more difficult for an immigrant whose native tongue is Chinese to learn English than it is for an immigrant whose native tongue is French. Early studies of language determinants were hampered in their analysis of this issue by the unavailability of measures of linguistic distance. It is now possible, however, to use the degree of difficulty that English speakers have learning foreign languages as a measure of linguistic distance.[6] Thus, the learning scores can be incorporated into the model of language fluency as measures of the effects of linguistic distance on learning English.

Exposure prior to immigration will, however, be affected by factors other than linguistic distance. In cases where English is used as a lingua franca in the country of origin, for example in India, or where English-speaking foreigners are common (due, for example, to overseas U.S. military bases), it is possible that immigrants will have received exposure to English even though they have a non-English native tongue. Such exposure will enhance English language skills.

The length of time that an immigrant has resided in the U.S. provides a natural index of the second dimension of exposure, namely time units of exposure in the destination. Many studies of immigrant adjustment have shown that as length of residence in the U.S. increases, immigrants adjust to the specific conditions of U.S. society. The adjustment is associated with growth in earnings, higher occupational attainment and lower unemployment. Part of the adjustment process appears to involve the learning of English. This is presumably due to the interactions that come about as part of everyday life in the country of destination, as well as specific investments that are made in language training, such as English-as-a-Second-Language programs.

The final dimension of exposure is the intensity of exposure per unit of time in the destination, which depends on two main factors. The first is the extent to which the individual's mother tongue is used in the neighborhood, defined to be either the region of residence or the place of work. These are essentially global neighborhood effects, and they have been measured in several previous studies by the extent to which the individual's mother tongue is spoken in the area in which he/she lives, whether by immigrants or natives. It is hypothesized that the greater the extent of this phenomenon, the easier it is to avoid using English and hence the poorer the English language skills. In a study for

Australia, Chiswick and Miller (1996a) extend this line of argument by incorporating in the analysis information on relatives in the country and the number of ethnic language newspapers readily available on the grounds that these would represent the presence and strength of formal and informal ethnic networks. This study demonstrated that English language fluency is negatively affected by the presence of relatives and ethnic newspapers.

A local neighborhood effect that may be quite important is associated with the immigrant's immediate family. There are several avenues that are relevant here. First, where the immigrant is married and the spouse has the same mother tongue, then opportunities for conversation in that mother tongue within the home substitute for conversations in English, and thus both reduce the need to learn English and limit the learning by doing that may otherwise take place.

Second, language skills may be affected by the presence of children. There are at least three factors that may be at work here. The first involves attempts by parents to teach their children their language of origin. Such attempts may be motivated by desires for return migration, or by a drive to maintain the culture of the country of origin. This appears to be an important feature of the language attainment process in Australia, where the government's current policy of multiculturalism favors language retention. (see Chiswick and Miller, 1996b) The second way in which children may affect the language outcomes of their parents is through a child-to-parent transmission mechanism. Under this scenario, parents learn English from their children. It is well documented in the second-language acquisition literature that children learn languages more rapidly than do older persons, in part because they are more efficient at learning. (see Long, 1990) They also have a more intensive exposure to English through the school system and through interaction with other children. Third, children may serve as parental interpreters to the world outside the immigrant-language enclave. To the extent that they perform this function, children will reduce the incentive and opportunity for their parents to learn English.

Efficiency in language acquisition refers to the extent to which a given amount of destination language exposure produces language fluency. As noted above, the very young have a superior ability to acquire language skills. Such an ability may also reside in those who are better educated. The greater efficiency in language acquisition of the better educated may arise because they have a greater mastery of their mother tongue and are more efficient in learning new concepts and new terminology. Furthermore, those with schooling in the destination would be expected to be more fluent in the destination language, as fluency may be a prerequisite for school enrollment and the destination schooling itself would enhance fluency.

Efficiency in language acquisition may also vary according to immigrant category. In this regard, attention has been drawn to the situation of refugees. Chiswick (1978) has argued that refugees are less intensively self-selected for the characteristics that enhance a successful adjustment in the destination. Factors other than successful adjustment, such as escaping political persecution, take precedence in the refugee migration decision. Moreover, refugees generally have invested less in preparation for the international move. These factors imply that refugees will be less efficient in acquiring dominant language skills.

The discussion above suggests the following conceptual equation:

LANG = f(economic incentives, exposure, efficiency),

where LANG is a measure of the immigrant's fluency in the dominant language. The empirical counterpart of this conceptual equation is:

LANG = f[expected wage increment for language fluency (+), expected future duration (+), duration in destination (+), married to native of destination (?), married to native of origin (–), children (?), linguistic distance (–), minority language concentration (–), age at migration (–), education (+), sojourner status (–), refugee status (–)],

where the expected partial effects (positive, negative, or ambiguous) are indicated in parentheses.

The Statistical Determinants of Language Skills

The qualitative findings from the formal multiple regression analysis of English language fluency will be presented here. The detailed tables from the formal multiple regression analysis are available upon request from the authors. The analysis is performed for adult (aged 25 to 64 years) foreign born men and women. For the purpose of this analysis fluency is defined as speaking only English at home, or speaking another language but speaking English "very well" or "well." Those speaking English "not well" or "not at all" (only a few words) are not considered fluent.

For both men and women, schooling attainment, age at migration and duration of residence in the United States are all very important determinants of fluency: fluency is greater among (a) those with more schooling, by about 3 percentage points per year of schooling, (b) those who immigrate at a younger age (Long, 1990), and (c) those who have been in the U.S. a longer period of time. The effect on fluency of a year in the U.S. is greatest for recent immigrants, and diminishes the longer an immigrant is in the country. At 10 years in the U.S., an extra year raises fluency by about 2 percentage points, or by about the equivalent of two-thirds of a year of schooling.

Although the direction of causation may be ambiguous, married immigrants are more fluent than are their unmarried counterparts. This advantage is by 3 percentage points for married men but is less important (1 percentage point) for married women. Data in the 1980 Census permitted a determination of whether the current marriage occurred prior to immigration. Marriage prior to immigration was found to lower fluency in English. (Chiswick and Miller, 1992)

The young age at marriage and the lower rate at which married women participate in the labor market may explain the lower fluency of married women (2 percentage points) than of single women among Mexican immigrants.

Data are available on the number of children in the family for women but not for men in the 1990 Census. The presence of children reduces the English language fluency of immigrant women, the more so (by 4 to 5 percentage points) when there is more than one child. Census data from 1980 also found a negative effect of children on the fluency of their mothers, but a positive effect on their fathers' fluency. (Chiswick and Miller, 1992)

Those who live in a state where a larger proportion of the population, whether native or foreign born, speak their origin language are less fluent in English. This effect is most pronounced for immigrants from predominantly Spanish speaking countries, such as Mexico and Cuba, because of the large concentration of Spanish speakers. Fluency tends to be greater for immigrants in rural areas among women (1 percentage point) but not for men. It is also greater for immigrants in the South (by about 2 percentage points) for both sexes. These geographic variables suggest that ready access to others who speak the same non-English language, and presumably also the print and electronic media associated with this concentration, has the effect of reducing fluency in English.

Characteristics of the country of origin do matter. Immigrants with an origin language more distant linguistically from English are less fluent. This distance can have a very powerful effect. The difference in English language fluency between French and Korean speakers due to the measure of linguistic distance is 10 percentage points. This is comparable to the effect on fluency of three additional years of schooling.

The statistical analysis explains much of the "simple" differences in English language fluency by country of origin among immigrants in the U.S. For some countries much of the difference is due to low levels of education, recentness of arrival and large concentrations of people speaking their origin language (e.g., Mexican immigrants). For others, linguistic distance is a major explanatory factor (e.g., East-Asian immigrants). Even after controlling statistically for the effects of all of the variables discussed above, including minority language concentration and linguistic distance, differences in English language fluency by country of origin persist. The least fluent group are immigrants from primarily refugee source countries. Even when other variables are the same, immigrants from the (former) USSR, China, Indochina and Cuba have fluency rates 8 to 10 percentage points less than do those from western and southern Europe. Immigrants from Mexico, too, suffer a large linguistic disadvantage, even when other factors are the same, falling 6 percentage points behind western and southern European immigrants. This may well reflect the adverse influence on English language fluency of the sojourner effect, that is, a greater propensity among Mexican immigrants for viewing their stay in the U.S. as temporary or to be combined with periodic return migration to Mexico. For most other countries of birth, fluency rates are either greater than or show little difference from those of western and southern European immigrants.

The Labor Market Effects of Language Skills

It is to be expected that lesser fluency in English would, other things being equal, detract from the economic well-being of an individual, whether foreign born or native born. Those with limited English language skills will have greater difficulty shopping for the lowest prices for goods and services of a given quality, or shopping for higher quality goods and services at a given price. They would also have more limited opportunities in finding a job and in obtaining the highest wage offer that their skills might otherwise generate.

While these points might seem self-evident, it is useful to present some statistical findings on this issue. Unfortunately, the data on prices paid and the quality of consumer goods and services purchased do not permit an analysis of the impact of English language skills. The 1990 Census of Population, however, does provide the information necessary for an analysis of the effect of English language skills on labor market characteristics, including earnings and employment.

A simple tabulation of the earnings of individuals by various levels of English language skills could be misleading. As shown above, English language skills are greater for those with more years of schooling among immigrants from English-speaking countries and among immigrants in the United States a longer period of time. These factors have also been shown to be important determinants of earnings and employment.[7]

Multivariate statistical analysis is used to isolate the effects of English language proficiency on earnings and employment for adult (aged 25 to 64) men using the data from the 1990 Census of Population. The estimating equations follow standard procedures and relate either the natural logarithm of earnings, or weeks worked for the employment analysis, to English language fluency and a set of control variables, including years of schooling, total labor market experience, marital status, location in the United States, race and, for the foreign born, duration of residence in the United States, citizenship and country of origin. The analysis is limited to males in this study because of the difficulties in estimating earnings and employment equations for females; unfortunately, the 1990 Census data does not have a satisfactory mechanism for identifying periods of interrupted participation in the labor market.

Proficiency in the English language is measured by whether the person speaks only English at home or, if he speaks another language, whether he speaks English very well or well. Proficiency in English is associated with 16 percent higher weekly earnings, all other factors being equal, among all immigrants and by a similar amount (15 percent higher earnings) when the data are limited to immigrants from Mexico. To place this in context, the 16 percent higher earnings among adult male immigrants who are fluent (by the definition used here) is the same as the effect on earnings of three additional years of schooling (5 percent higher earnings per year of schooling) and is twice the magnitude of the effect of U.S. citizenship on earnings (8 percent higher earnings). The 16 percent higher weekly earnings in the 1990 Census data repeats the findings of the 1980 Census but is greater than the effect of destination language fluency on earnings found in the other major immigrant-receiving countries, Canada, Australia and Israel. (Chiswick and Miller, 1992; 1995)

The pay-off to English language fluency among the foreign born comes not only in the form of higher weekly earnings, but also through greater employment (weeks worked) in the year. The foreign born who are proficient in English work about three-fourths of one week more than do their counterparts who are not fluent. (Chiswick and Hurst, 1996) This is the equivalent of about 1.5 percent more weeks worked per year, raising the increase in annual earnings from being fluent to about 17.5 percent.

The acquisition of English language fluency among the foreign born who come to the United States is a very productive investment. For a young adult with several decades of working life before him, the 16 percent higher weekly earnings and 17.5 percent higher annual earnings imply a rate of return on the investment in English language skills of about 16 to 18 percent if such an investment requires the equivalent of a whole year of full-time language training, and a rate of return of 30 to 35 percent if this can be accomplished in six months.

Even among the native born, English language fluency affects earnings, even when other variables are the same. Among the native-born adult men, those who lack fluency in English have a lower level of schooling (and hence lower earnings), but also have 5 percent lower earnings when schooling is held constant. Among men of Hispanic origin, those who are not fluent in English have 6 percent lower earnings.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This article has provided a statistical portrait of those in the United States who speak a language other than English, including the degree of their fluency in English. The analysis is based on the microdata files from the 1990 Census of Population, which provides the very large sample sizes and the wealth of socioeconomic and demographic variables that are needed for this purpose.

Fourteen percent of the U.S. population aged 5 and over speak a language other than, or in addition to, English at home. This ranges from 7 percent for the native born (many of whom are the children of immigrants) to nearly 80 percent of the foreign born.

The most frequently spoken language after English is Spanish. Among those who speak a language other than only English at home, Spanish is spoken by 55 percent (58 percent for the native born and 48 percent for the foreign born). A myriad of other languages follow, with French (5 percent of the non-English speakers) in second place and other European, Asian and Native American Indian languages following. Thus, the languages spoken are characterized by both concentration (Spanish) and enormous diversity.

As we might expect from the patterns of immigration flows, the Spanish language speakers are younger, have lower levels of schooling and English language fluency, and are more heavily concentrated in California and Texas than are those who speak other languages.

The English language fluency of those who speak a foreign language varies by nativity, duration in the United States, the language spoken, and education, among other factors. English language fluency, as self-reported on a four-point scale, is greater for foreign language speakers who are native born, speak a language other than Spanish, have a higher level of education and, if foreign born, have lived in the U.S. a longer period of time and are U.S. citizens.

Earnings and employment (weeks worked) are higher for those with a greater fluency in English. Indeed, other things being the same, among the foreign born weekly earnings are higher by 16 percent and weeks worked in the year by 1.5 percent for those who are more fluent in English. Even among the native born, those who are less than fluent in English have lower earnings.

Special attention was given to Native American Indian languages. A native language is spoken by about 350,000 persons. This is just over 2 percent of the native born population that speaks a language other than English at home or just over one-tenth of one percent of the U.S. population. Expressed differently, a native language is spoken by 6 percent of those reporting an Indian/ Native American ancestry, and by 18 percent of the smaller group reporting their race as Indian/Native American. Thus, even among those most closely identified as Native American, relatively few speak a native language.

Of those speaking a native language, 4 out of 10 speak Navaho, and the others speak one or another of a large number of languages, from Dakota, in second place (5 percent), to languages with only a few speakers. Detailed demographic data are provided on those who speak Native American languages.

The prospect for the long-term vitality of languages other than English in the United States is not bright. For most languages, whether of European, Asian or Latin American origin, the persistence of a significant number of speakers of the language is doubtful. The U.S.-born children are less likely to maintain the linguistic abilities of their parents. The high mobility of the U.S. population and increasing intermarriage reduce the likelihood of living in a linguistic enclave and of marrying someone with the same foreign language skills. There are few economic and decreasing cultural rewards for language maintenance. For some languages, the continued infusion of immigrants will give the appearance of persistence, but this will largely reflect a transitional phase in which the immigrant language is spoken in the first (immigrant) generation, less so in the second generation, and largely disappearing by the third generation.

The languages that are most likely to persist will be those that have a very large group of speakers, many of whom continue to live in linguistic enclaves or communities, where intermarriage is minimal and where there is a particular cultural or economic purpose or rationale for maintaining the language (e.g., the language is used in religious practices). Language maintenance for the sake of retaining the language of one's ancestors is unlikely to be of sufficient value in the open, mobile society of the United States for it to have significant intergenerational persistence.

Among the Native American Indian languages Navaho has the greatest likelihood of persistence. It is the largest native language group, with its speakers highly concentrated in cultural and ethnic enclaves (nearly 90 percent of Navaho speakers live in Arizona and New Mexico). Among European, Latin American and Asian languages, except perhaps for Spanish, linguistic persistence will be dependent on future immigrant flows. If the immigration of, for example, Korean or Greek speakers decreases, with the passage of the immigrant generation the languages will experience a decline.

The Spanish language appears to have the greatest prospects for persistence. As immigration ebbs and flows from country to country a new infusion of different languages appears in the U.S. Given the large number of Spanish-speaking countries, however, changes in the relative importance of source countries among this linguistic origin need not diminish its role in the overall immigrant stream. Moreover, given the proximity of Spanish speaking areas to the United States, high rates of migration of Spanish speakers, whether from Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Central America or South America, will continue.

Spanish speakers now form by far the largest single non-English linguistic community in the United States, comprising 55 percent of foreign language speakers. Large Spanish speaking communities have been established in several regions of the country, and Spanish language institutions and media (print and electronic) are well established.

The Spanish language has shown greater persistence than have other non-native languages. Spanish language immigrants are slower at acquiring English language skills and the intergenerational language shift is less intense among the Spanish-origin population. The persistence can be largely explained by lower levels of schooling, a greater expectation of return migration among immigrants, and the established Spanish language communities and institutions.

To the extent that the greater persistence of Spanish reduces the acquisition of English language skills it is not without its cost. Poorer English language skills among immigrants and the native born retard acquiring more schooling, inhibit employment, lower earnings, and retard participation in the political process.

If current migration patterns continue, the United States in the coming decades is likely to be increasingly characterized by both *linguistic concentration*, with Spanish increasing its share in the U.S. population, and *linguistic diversity*, with an increasing number of languages being represented by a small but not trivial share of the population. This combination will pose greater challenges and opportunities for the educational, political, social and economic institutions of the United States.

NOTES

1. The term "American Indian" languages is used in this paper to avoid confusion with languages of the Indian subcontinent and confusion as to whether Native American refers to persons born in the U.S.
2. The category "Other States" in Table 3 includes respondents (1.7% of the population) not uniquely identified with a State of Residence. These respondents live in "Public Use Microdata Areas," Census subdivisions, with at least 100,000 persons, which cross state lines.
3. Note that these data have been computed using the 5% sample from the 1990 Census Public Use Microdata Sample and the figures may differ slightly from those previously discussed based on the 1% sample. Differences of this nature are negligible, however.
4. It is unfortunate that data are not available in the Census on the level of fluency in the languages other than English.
5. The 1990 Census coding procedures report only single race responses.
6. For example, Hart-Gonzalez and Lindemann (1993) have calculated language scores for American students of average ability after set periods (16 weeks, 24 weeks) of foreign language training.
7. These issues are discussed in depth in Chiswick (1991), Chiswick and Miller (1988, 1992, 1996a), and Chiswick and Hurst (1996).

APPENDIX

1990 U.S. Census of Population Questions on Language

15a. Does this person speak a language other than English at home?

o Yes o No - Skip to 16

15b. What is this language?

(For example, Chinese, Italian, Spanish, Vietnamese)

15c. How well does this person speak English?

o Very Well o Not Well

o Well o Not at All

Note: Instructions for the respondent indicate that speaking a language at school or speaking just a few words or expressions should not be considered speaking a language at home. If a person spoke more than one language other than English at home, the language spoken more often or the language learned first was to be reported.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1993) *1990 Census of Population and Housing, Public Use Microdata Sample, Technical Documentation*, Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

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GETTING IT RIGHT: THE SEATTLE SCHOOL DISTRICT PROGRAM FOR LIMITED-ENGLISH PROFICIENT STUDENTS

Scott K. Baker

On June 25, 1993, in the case of Sang Van v. Seattle School District, a class action suit was filed on behalf of all Limited-English Proficient (LEP) students and their guardians against the Seattle Public Schools. Among the plaintiffs' claims were that the school district did not

- Provide appropriate services (i.e., to meet their language and learning needs) to LEP students, as required by state law;
- Use native language instruction with LEP students to introduce concepts and information during instruction;
- Provide appropriate English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) instruction;
- Provide LEP students with adequate and appropriate educational materials;
- Provide teachers trained in bilingual instruction methodology;
- Provide adequate training and professional development opportunities to teachers who work with LEP students;
- Adequately evaluate the effects of the programs for LEP students.

The Seattle School District and the state of Washington denied the above allegations, and the two sides began preparing for their court case. The case was settled out of court, however, on April 19, 1994. As part of the settlement, the Seattle School District agreed

- To increase awareness of the multiple instructional methods available for LEP students;
- To take steps to decrease the amount of noninstructional duties of the instructional assistants for LEP students so that they could devote more time to instructional activities;
- To review eligibility of students who waive services for LEP students, as determined by their performance on the reading and language portions of the California Achievement Test (CAT) and other nationally-normed (normative referenced) tests; to inform those parents of children who waive

services for LEP students, but who are eligible for those services, of service benefits;

- To continue to emphasize the recruitment of multicultural and multilingual teaching and support staff who are qualified to teach and who are proficient in both English and a language spoken by a substantial number of LEP students;
- To continue its program of professional development regarding the education of LEP students;
- To engage the Education Service District to conduct an evaluation of the programs for LEP students.

The purpose of this analysis is to present and examine both these programs and the data available on them as they relate to the educational benefits for LEP students.

BACKGROUND ON EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR LIMITED-ENGLISH STUDENTS

The Seattle School District case highlights some of the tensions in the continuing debate over the most effective way to educate LEP students. Two issues have tended to dominate discussions on instructional practices with language minority students: whether instruction should be primarily in the student's native language or in English, and when is the best time to make the inevitable transition into English language classrooms. (Crawford, 1989; Gersten and Woodward, 1994)

Further study is necessary to determine if the quality of the instructional practices within a given program is more critical to academic success than the actual type of program used with language minority students. A combination of instructional practices that have been documented to be effective with native English-speaking students and specialized instructional practices that are sensitive to the unique circumstances of LEP students may produce the most positive results. Educators have begun to explore more carefully the details of educational programs for language minority students that identify high quality instructional practices, regardless of language of instruction.

Traditional Transitional Bilingual Education Programs

Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) is the most common model of bilingual education in the U.S. and has generally been understood to mean that students should receive primarily native language instruction during their first few years of school. They should also receive up to an hour per day of

English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) instruction. The amount of ESL instruction increases gradually until students develop sufficient English language skills to be moved into general education mainstream settings. (Gersten and Woodward, 1994)

Advocates of native language instruction for LEP students have argued that premature instruction in a student's second language leads to instructional contexts that are simplified or "watered down" to meet the student's perceived competence. (Gersten and Woodward, 1994) Wong-Fillmore and Valdez (1986) suggested that the rationale for early native language instruction is strongest in the area of reading. Essentially, Wong-Fillmore and Valdez argued that because students find it easier to read in a language they already know than in one they are learning, native language instruction is best. The authors make two important claims that require careful consideration. The first is that positive results of native language instruction may not be apparent or measurable for three or four years. The second is that reading skills can be relatively easily transferred from one language to another.

Research is beginning to show that the type of transfer frequently assumed by proponents of native language instruction is much more difficult for children than was previously believed. (Gersten, 1996; Jiménez, García, and Pearson, 1995; 1996) For example, it seems that even proficient readers work hard and deliberately to transfer knowledge from one language to another. (Jiménez et al., 1995; 1996) Proficient bilingual readers seem to use a number of specific, deliberate strategies to help them transfer what they know from their native language into English. For less proficient readers, these problems of transferring knowledge from one language to another may be immense. (Gersten, 1996; Jiménez et al., 1995; 1996) Chamot and O'Malley (1996) suggest that we may need to teach students explicitly how to access knowledge in their native language in order to successfully perform in English language activities. Unfortunately, there are few concrete guidelines for facilitating these activities, and it is very likely that such a process would delay the ability of the student to *think* in the second language.

Fitzgerald (1995) recently completed an integrative review of research on the cognitive reading strategies of ESL students. Fitzgerald investigated studies addressing a range of issues, including the relation between vocabulary knowledge and reading performance, the word recognition and metacognitive strategies of ESL students, and the influence of prior knowledge and text structure in facilitating reading comprehension. Two findings from Fitzgerald's investigation have significant implications for reading instruction for ESL students. First, there was substantial individual variability among ESL students in their use of vocabulary knowledge and word recognition strategies to facilitate reading comprehension. Jiménez and his colleagues (Jiménez et al., 1995; 1996) described in vivid detail how ESL readers, with varying degrees of success, used their knowledge of vocabulary in two languages to comprehend text. Second, Fitzgerald found that ESL students used substantively the same cognitive reading strategies as native English speakers used, but that selected facets of those strategies were used less often, or operated more slowly, for ESL students than for native English learners.

Immersion in the Second Language

The strongest contrast to native language instruction is structured immersion, in which students from the outset receive all or nearly all of their instruction in the second language through the implementation of a special curriculum. Advocates of an immersion approach for LEP students in the U.S. invariably point to the success of immersion programs in Canada, in which native English-speaking students are immersed in French, as evidence that immersion models are successful. (Genesee, 1984; Lambert and Tucker, 1972)

Arguments against immersion programs in the U.S. are based on perceived differences between students learning French in Canada and LEP students learning English in the U.S. One argument has been that the status of English in Canada, and that of non-English languages in the U.S., such as Spanish or Hmong, is fundamentally different. English is the dominant language in Canada, and citizens are expected to have a strong command of it. Non-English languages in the U.S. are not viewed as having the same status, value, or usefulness as English. Many educators believe this factor influences the degree of motivation individuals have in respect to learning and maintaining their native language while being immersed in a second language. However, the major responsibility of programs for LEP students in the U.S. is to ensure that students develop English language proficiency, rather than maintaining native languages.

A second argument against the practice of immersion in the U.S. has been that native English-speaking students learning French in Canada are primarily middle-class students who have grown up in homes that support and foster academic achievement. One important consequence is that many Canadian students are involved in academically beneficial English literacy tasks at home while they are immersed in French in school. However, several of the early immersion experiments in Canada included a significant number of children from low-income families, and the results were equally, or even more, positive for these students. (Rossell and Baker, 1996)

It is true that many LEP students in the U.S. are from low socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds, and providing experiences that explicitly support academic achievement is not typically a priority or routine for their families. (Teale, 1986) Also, many recent immigrants have had little formal schooling. (Foster, 1980; Kleinman and Daniel, 1981) An increasing number of educators believe that for language minority (as well as language majority) students, this limited exposure to literacy before school is likely to lead to academic problems unless instruction in the elementary grades is reconceptualized. (Adams, 1990; Goldenberg and Gallimore, 1991; Teale, 1986)

Structured Immersion

By necessity districts have begun to experiment with structured immersion programs, or "sheltered English" as it is sometimes referred to in the U.S. (Northcutt and Watson, 1986) For example, the large influx of Southeast Asian students in the 1980s and 1990s has made it extremely difficult for some schools to provide native language support for all of their eligible students because so many different language groups are represented. This is clearly one of the primary issues facing the Seattle School District in its efforts to adequately serve LEP students. Not only are qualified teachers who speak these languages unavailable and textbooks nonexistent, but in many cases there may be insufficient numbers of students who speak a specific language to warrant full-time instruction in that language.

The key difference between sheltered English and earlier forms of "sink or swim" immersion methods is that English instruction is designed to be *comprehensible* to language minority students' developing English proficiency. In other words, teachers take specific steps to modify content-area instruction so that it is comprehensible to students who are still mastering English. (Gersten, 1996; Moll and Diaz, 1986)

DESCRIPTION OF SEATTLE'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR LIMITED-ENGLISH STUDENTS

No substantive changes occurred in the Seattle Public Schools program for LEP students as a result of the lawsuit brought against them and the subsequent out-of-court settlement. It is absolutely essential to understand that the program for LEP students in Seattle does not provide native language teaching, but rather special English language instruction. Although the Seattle School District calls it a "bilingual education" program, it clearly is not. In this analysis, I will describe the program used in the Seattle School District and some of the major educational outcomes for LEP students and other students in the district. The data are drawn from the district's description and evaluation of its program from the late 1980s to 1992, and from an evaluation by the Education Service District in 1995 (Litzenberger and Sanders, 1995), required as part of the settlement agreement.

Demographic Variables

Like many urban school districts in the country, Seattle has witnessed a veritable explosion in the number of students for whom English is not a native language. In the fall of 1970, the Seattle School District first established an official program for LEP students. The program was maintained by the Department of Foreign Languages and served about 100 students. Before 1970, students were informally served at individual schools throughout the district.

The end of the Vietnam War resulted in a tremendous increase in the number of students from Southeast Asia who entered Seattle schools. This increase of students from Southeast Asia continued through 1982 and forever changed the cultural and linguistic make-up of the Seattle School District. From 1982 to the present, the number of students for whom English is not a native language has continued to grow, but this increase is a result of immigration from many geographic regions of the world, including large sections of Asia and Latin America. By 1993, 11,117 of the district's 44,962 students (24.7 percent) spoke a non-English native language. Of these 11,117 students, 6,185 (55.6 percent) were in programs for LEP students.

One of the linguistic characteristics of students in the Seattle School District that makes the delivery of effective educational services particularly challenging is that the population of students eligible for LEP services represents a large number of native languages. This is a characteristic of many other urban districts: for example, over 100 native languages are spoken by students in the Los Angeles Unified School District alone. (Barber, 1993) What is unique to urban areas of the Pacific Northwest, including Seattle and Vancouver, is that Asian languages are more commonly spoken than is Spanish.

Latino students clearly represent the largest language minority group in the country, comprising approximately 60 percent of the overall language minority population, according to the latest report prepared by the General Accounting Office. (cited in Porter, 1995) Latino Americans are also one of the fastest growing minority groups in the country, and by the year 2020 they are projected to succeed African Americans as the single largest minority group. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992; Reddy, 1993)

Many other language minority groups are enrolling in U.S. schools at an extremely rapid pace. Most of the increase is occurring in urban settings. The

Table 1
Number of Students Whose Primary Language Is Not English Who Receive Services for Limited-English Students

Primary Language	Number of Students	Number of Students Receiving LEP Services	Percentage
Vietnamese	2032	1473	72%
Chinese Languages/Dialects	1615	784	49%
Spanish	1293	823	64%
Philippine Languages/ Dialects	1136	529	47%
Cambodian	1119	693	62%
Lao Languages/Dialects	1098	600	55%
Ethiopian Languages/ Dialects	650	462	71%
Russian/Ukrainian	255	187	73%
Korean	243	111	46%
Samoan	218	110	50%
Japanese	135	45	33%
Other	1323	413	31%
Total	11,117	6185	56%

Note: By the time of the 1995 evaluation conducted by the Puget Sound Education Service District (Litzenberger, 1995), there were another approximately 100 students in programs for LEP students (n = 6279).

largest of these non-Spanish language groups speak various Asian languages and dialects. The diversity of language and cultural groups represents challenges for public schools that are two-fold: securing a teaching and support staff that speaks the languages of the students in the district and ensuring that educators are sensitive to the ways in which cultural and language diversity influence learning.

Over 78 major native languages and dialects are spoken by students in the Seattle School District. Table 1 identifies the 11 most common of these languages and dialects. These 11 language groups represent 88 percent of the students in the district whose primary language is not English, and 93.3 percent of the students in the district who are in programs for LEP students.

An additional 1,323 students in the district speak a primary language that is neither English nor one of the 11 most common non-English languages in the district. These students represent another 67 native language groups, which on average is about 20 students per language. Not all of these 67 languages are equally represented in the district, of course. Consequently, the Seattle School District, in addition to having a bilingual staff capable of speaking the 11 most common languages in the district (see Table 1), provides some native language support in at least 4 additional languages. Further support is provided on the basis of changing student need. Overall, the Seattle School District employs a staff of approximately 230 certified teachers and instructional assistants to serve LEP students.

Eligibility for LEP Programs

Students are eligible for programs for LEP students if they meet the following criteria: 1) their native language must be something other than English; and 2) they must earn a score of 1, 2, or 3 on the Language Assessment Scales (LAS) (DeAvila and Duncan, 1977), a nationally normed test of language proficiency that is commonly used to make decisions regarding student eligibility for programs for LEP students. Students whose raw scores translate into a category of 1 or 2 are described as being non-English speakers; students whose scores translate into a 3 are described as being limited-English proficient. Categories 4 and 5 are described as English proficient.

The LAS includes five subtests. On the pairs subtest, students are asked to choose whether or not two orally presented words sound the same (e.g., them/them; then/den). On the lexical subtest, students are required to produce the correct word for line drawings presented on cards. On the phoneme subtest, students repeat words and sentences the examiner presents orally, and are evaluated on how accurately they produce specific phonemes in the selection (e.g., The *y*ard is *y*ellow). On the comprehension subtest, students point to one of three pictures that correctly matches a sentence presented on tape. On the production subtest, students are required to reproduce verbally a short story presented on tape.

The LAS production subtest is heavily weighted in determining a student's final category score. Thus, students may do relatively well on the first four subtests but not very well on the story retell subtest, and earn an overall language proficiency score of 1, 2, or 3. Especially for younger children, the test situation may make it difficult for them to do their best in retelling the story. Consequently, their actual English language skills may be stronger than they demonstrate on the LAS.

Formal Criteria for Exiting Programs for Limited-English Students

The criteria used for determining when students no longer need services for LEP students are based on a different framework than are eligibility criteria.

Student performance on a scholastic achievement test is used to determine if students are adequately prepared for full-time English language instruction in a mainstream classroom. Each spring, all students in the district take the California Achievement Test (CAT) (CTB/McGraw-Hill, 1985), a group administered, nationally norm-referenced test of academic achievement.

The CAT is used to assess skill development for students in grades kindergarten through 12, in reading, spelling, language, mathematics, study skills, science, and social studies. (Salvia and Ysseldyke, 1988) The district considers the reading and language scores as the most important indicators of whether LEP students are ready for mainstream English language classrooms.

Students are typically exited from programs for LEP students if they perform at or above the thirty-fifth percentile. The use of this cutoff score can be problematic. For example, standard interpretations of average achievement levels frequently include children whose performance is between the twenty-fifth and seventy-fifth percentiles. Sometimes one standard deviation above and below the mean is used as a descriptor of average performance. In this case, percentile scores between 16 and 84 would be considered within the overall average range.

Included in almost any definition of "average" would be performance at the thirty-fifth percentile. In other words, within the parameters of the normal distribution, many native English-speaking students who score at, above, or even below the thirty-fifth percentile would be considered at least average achievers. English-speaking students clearly do not need special programs designed for LEP students to meet their basic academic needs, and depending on typical achievement levels in their school and district, the academic skills of students at the thirty-fifth percentile may be better than most of their peers.

Seattle is not unusual, of course, in using a rigorous interpretation of average. For example, in New York City, students exit bilingual education programs when they score at or above the fortieth percentile on the Language Assessment Battery, an English proficiency test developed and normed in New York City. (Mujica, 1995) One of the consequences of this percentile cutoff is that a high percentage of LEP students in New York City spend many years in bilingual education programs.

Trial Criteria for Exiting Programs for Limited-English Students

One of the serious indictments against bilingual education is that students enter programs easily but do not exit easily. In many cases, students may receive bilingual education services for six years or more. (Cubillos, 1988) This seems to contradict what has always been one of the major tenets of programs for LEP students: students are prepared for successful performance in English language classrooms as quickly as possible. (Stewner-Manzanares, 1988) A similar criticism has been leveled against special education. Many educators believe that one of the primary reasons behind the intensity of the full-inclusion movement is how seldom students return to the general education settings once they have entered special education.

The Seattle School District has instituted a trial exit procedure for students whom district personnel believe will perform successfully in the mainstream, but who have not achieved a score of at least the thirty-fifth percentile in Total Reading and Total Language on the CAT. This process begins with a review of such a student's academic progress reports and report cards by the teacher trained to work with LEP students. A discussion follows between this teacher and the general education teacher about the possibility of a successful mainstreaming experience for the target student. If there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the target student will be successful in the English-language classroom, and the two teachers reach an agreement on a basic transition plan, a trial reintegration occurs for one year.

During the trial reintegration, the student may still receive some native language support from a bilingual instructional assistant on an as-needed basis. At the end of the school year, the student's performance on the reading and language portions of the CAT are examined. If the student is performing at or above the thirty-fifth percentile, services are terminated; if the student's performance is still below the thirty-fifth percentile, performance data from the general education classroom is examined more thoroughly. If the student is achieving at approximately grade level, the student's parents and teachers discuss the termination of services; if the student is not achieving at grade level, the parents and teachers discuss what additional services are needed to help the student learn what is necessary to achieve successfully in the mainstream.

This trial exiting process has merit for a number of reasons. First, it recognizes that some students may perform below the thirty-fifth percentile on the CAT for reasons other than lack of experience with English. Second, it gives educators who know the child an opportunity to discuss the child's educational needs in very specific terms. Third, it delegates important responsibility for determining appropriate educational services to those who know the child best, the teachers trained and certified to work with LEP students. Fourth, it allows student performance to be measured by criteria that take into account overall academic success and that are related to student self-esteem and motivation to do well in school. It asks two fundamentally important questions: "How is the student doing in the general education classroom on everyday assignments and tasks?" and, "Is the student performing at grade level?" Finally, the process is evaluated after a year, both narrowly in terms of student CAT scores, and more inclusively, in terms of how well the student performs classroom tasks and assignments. At that point, the program can be changed or modified to best meet the student's needs.

COMPONENTS OF SEATTLE'S PROGRAM FOR LIMITED-ENGLISH STUDENTS

The Seattle School District uses a flexible combination of service delivery models to meet the needs of their LEP students. The sequence of these models is designed to address the language and academic needs of LEP students, to provide parents with options concerning instructional programs for their children, and to enhance school flexibility in tailoring specific programs to the needs of students and the strengths of staff members. Following is a description of the major service components.

Bilingual Orientation Centers

Students who have recently arrived in the United States or who are new to the Seattle School District typically attend one of five Bilingual Orientation Centers (BOC) to help prepare them for the regular programs for LEP students. Students typically stay in one of the BOCs until the end of the semester in which they arrive. Some students remain until the end of the next full semester, however, if it is determined that this will better prepare them for one of the schools with a program for LEP students. The purpose of the BOC is to prepare students as quickly as possible for success in a program for LEP students provided in a neighborhood or a nearby school.

Preparation in the BOC involves two broad components. First, students are provided with intensive ESL instruction. Whenever possible, trained paraprofessionals provide primary language support to aid English language acquisition and to allow students to continue to make progress in general content knowledge while they are learning English. The second component focuses on helping students who may be unfamiliar with schooling in the U.S. generally, or with the Seattle schools specifically, for it is often the case that recent immigrants only attended school sporadically in their native countries. These students learn about, and experience first hand, various aspects of the ways in which schools function in Seattle and the U.S.

Schools with Programs for Limited-English Students

Prior to 1994–1995, programs for LEP students were offered at 17 of 34 elementary schools, 9 of 11 middle schools, and all 11 of the high schools. In

1994–1995, the district expanded programs for LEP students to the remaining elementary schools. The first major feature of programs for LEP students is ESL instruction—special classes designed to improve students' listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in English, and content area instruction focusing on math, social studies, science and health, and delivered in English and the students' native language. Content area instruction parallels that which is offered in the general education classroom. Aside from their time in these special classes, LEP students remain in the general education classroom throughout the day. Instructional assistants may be assigned to these classes to provide primary language support. In general, primary language support and instruction are provided by bilingual instructional assistants under the supervision of general education and ESL teachers. Many of the general and ESL teachers are also fluent in languages other than English and provide native language support to their LEP students.

Various service delivery models characterize programs for LEP students. Overall, however, traditional ESL pull-out models (see below) have given way to more integrated approaches in which eligible students are served by certified staff in the general education classroom. Many schools in the Seattle School District use a combination of models, which allows those students who have more limited skills or who have missed significant years of schooling to receive additional support in a more traditional pull-out setting.

Each school determines the type of model it will develop and employ, using district guidelines as parameters. There are five primary models in the Seattle School District program for LEP students. Schools are encouraged to be flexible in how they use existing models or combine them in ways that make the most sense given the needs of their students. These models are briefly described.

Pull-Out Model

Students are assigned to a mainstream classroom and are "pulled-out" to the ESL classroom for English language instruction. These pull-out times vary according to the needs of the students and scheduling issues in the school. Overall, these pull-out classes last 30–60 minutes and serve groups ranging from 5–12 students.

Pull-In Model

The staff trained to work with LEP students is "pulled-in" to the mainstream classroom to serve LEP students. Such a staff member is frequently a bilingual Instructional Assistant who has been trained by the certified teacher and is fluent in the student's native language. Certified teachers trained to work with LEP students also frequently provide services in the general education classroom. This integrated service provides a good opportunity for LEP students to learn English that is most directly relevant to the content of the general education classroom.

Basic Skills Block

Students are pulled into a basic skills block on a school-wide basis. Besides ESL instruction, basic reading instruction is provided by the teacher certified to work with LEP students. In this model, service is typically delivered for approximately 2 hours per day. Class sizes average between 15 and 24 students. Many native English-speaking students participate in the basic skills block as well.

Blended Model

Students are served in "blended" groups, which may include students officially in programs for LEP students, special education, Title 1, or served only in general education. Various combinations of staffing patterns may be used to deliver instruction, depending on the content and the students in the class. Typically, however, blended classrooms are team taught and the class sizes are reduced.

Tutorial Model

LEP students are tutored on an hourly basis by trained tutors who are usually fluent in the student's native language. LEP students who choose not to attend one of the traditional center schools with programs for LEP students are provided with tutors. In the typical tutoring model, students remain in their general education classrooms and tutors come in on a part-time basis to work with them. Each LEP student receives direct tutorial service for up to 3 hours per week. During the 1992–1993 school year, 39 tutors served 482 children in 42 schools. Native language support was provided for 20 different language groups.

DATA ON THE EFFECTS OF PROGRAMS FOR LIMITED-ENGLISH STUDENTS

Academic Achievement Data

Achievement data on the effectiveness of the Seattle School District in educating LEP students will be presented at two levels of analysis. First, district data on the performance of students in programs for LEP students are examined: data are available for the spring semesters of 1991 and 1992, and of 1994 and 1995. In each successive year, data on the same group of students are reported. Thus, analysis allows for interpretation of how well language minority students perform at two distinct times (e.g., spring 1991 and spring 1992), but, more importantly perhaps, it allows for an examination of the degree of progress these students made from one year to the next.

This performance across years for a single group of students represents the second level of analysis. These pictures of individual student growth are extremely important in determining how well a district is meeting the needs of students still enrolled in programs for LEP students as well as the needs of students who have "exited" from these programs. These "growth" data are reported for LEP students as well as for native English-speaking students in the district.

The 1991 and 1992 data are from an evaluation of programs for LEP students conducted by the Seattle School District. Data from an independent evaluation of the programs for LEP students conducted by the Puget Sound Educational Service District, in August 1995, will be used to report on student achievement in 1994 and 1995. (Litzenberger and Sanders, 1995) This evaluation was conducted as part of the settlement agreement of the lawsuit filed on behalf of LEP students in the district. This evaluation includes an in-depth examination of specific aspects of the programs for LEP students. Also, a few relevant comparisons between 1991–1992 and 1994–1995 will be made to provide a "general" index of the trend in student performance over the years.

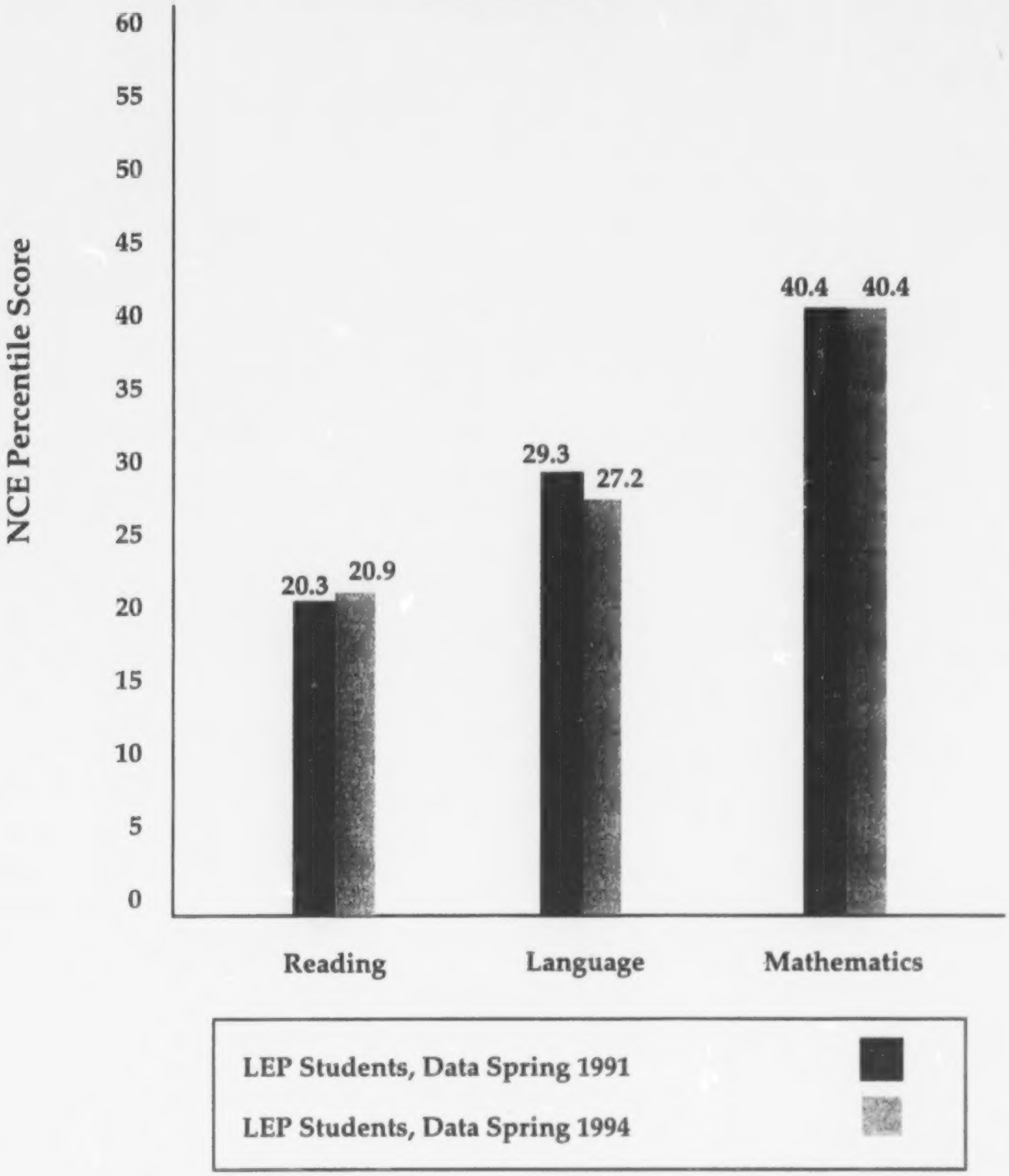
Achievement Comparisons: 1991–1992 and 1994–1995

Figure 1 shows the academic performance of all students in programs for LEP students in the Seattle School District in the spring of 1991, and of all students in programs for LEP students in the spring of 1994. The figure shows the consistency of student performance in two different years. Not surprisingly, overall student performance was highest in mathematics and lowest in reading. Approximately 20 NCE (normal curve equivalent) percentile points separated math and reading scores for students in programs for LEP students in both 1991 and 1994.

A high degree of performance consistency in 1991 and 1994 is true in all three major subject areas. Overall, the figure also shows that students in programs for LEP students are performing in the bottom two quartiles compared to a national sample of students of the same age and grade level. Given the importance of reading in overall academic success (Adams, 1990), it is important to note that reading scores are in the bottom quartile compared to a national sample of students.

The performance of students in programs for LEP students compared to native English-speaking students is understandably lower on tests in English,

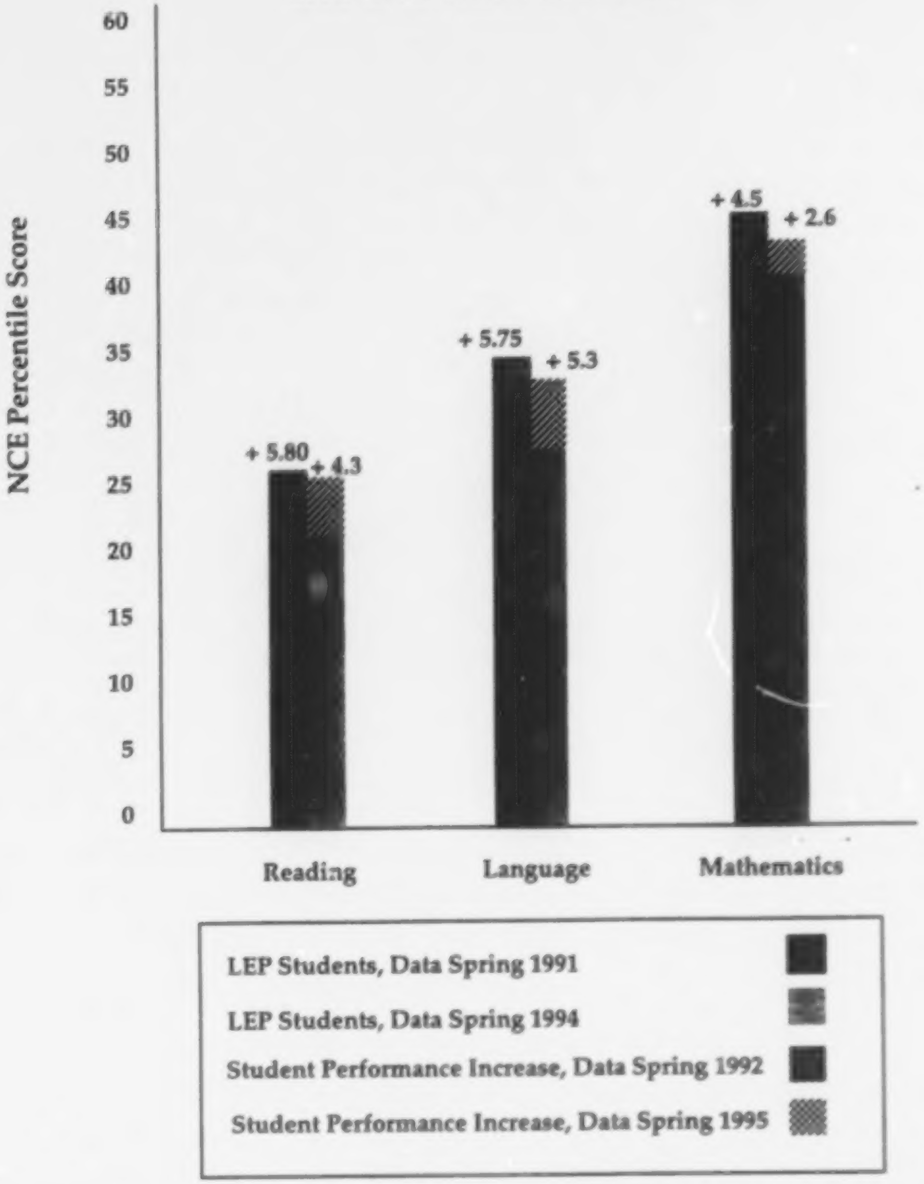
Figure 1
CAT Achievement Data for Students in Programs for LEP Students: 1991 and 1994



especially on reading tests. One of the reasons students are in programs for LEP students is because they are still in the process of learning the foundational components of the English language. In this context, individual measures of students' growth over time are perhaps more important indicators of successful programs for LEP students than are measures taken at a single point in time and analyzed solely in relation to the performance of native English-speaking students.

Figure 2

CAT Achievement Data for Students in Programs for LEP Students: 1991–1992 versus 1994–1995



An essential question not addressed in Figure 1 is how much growth students make over time; in Figure 2, individual student growth from 1991 to 1992, and from 1994 to 1995, is represented. In other words, the performance of the same group of students in each of the two successive years is depicted. For example, the performance of the same group of students in programs for LEP students from 1991 to 1992 increased an average of 5.35 percentile points on an NCE scale.

Overall, Figure 2 shows that in both 1992 and 1995, student performance increased over the previous year. Even with the performance increases, however, students still scored in the bottom two quartiles. For example, the average performance of students in programs for LEP students on the CAT reading tests was at about the twentieth percentile in 1991. In 1992, those same students had an average score that placed them at about the twenty-sixth percentile.

The lowest growth occurred in mathematics from 1994–1995. Overall, however, students in programs for LEP students had their highest scores at a single point in time on the mathematics tests. It is reasonable that they might demonstrate higher growth rates in reading and language than in mathematics, where, in effect, there is "more room for growth." However, even in mathematics, where student performance is approaching the fiftieth percentile, meaningful growth occurred.

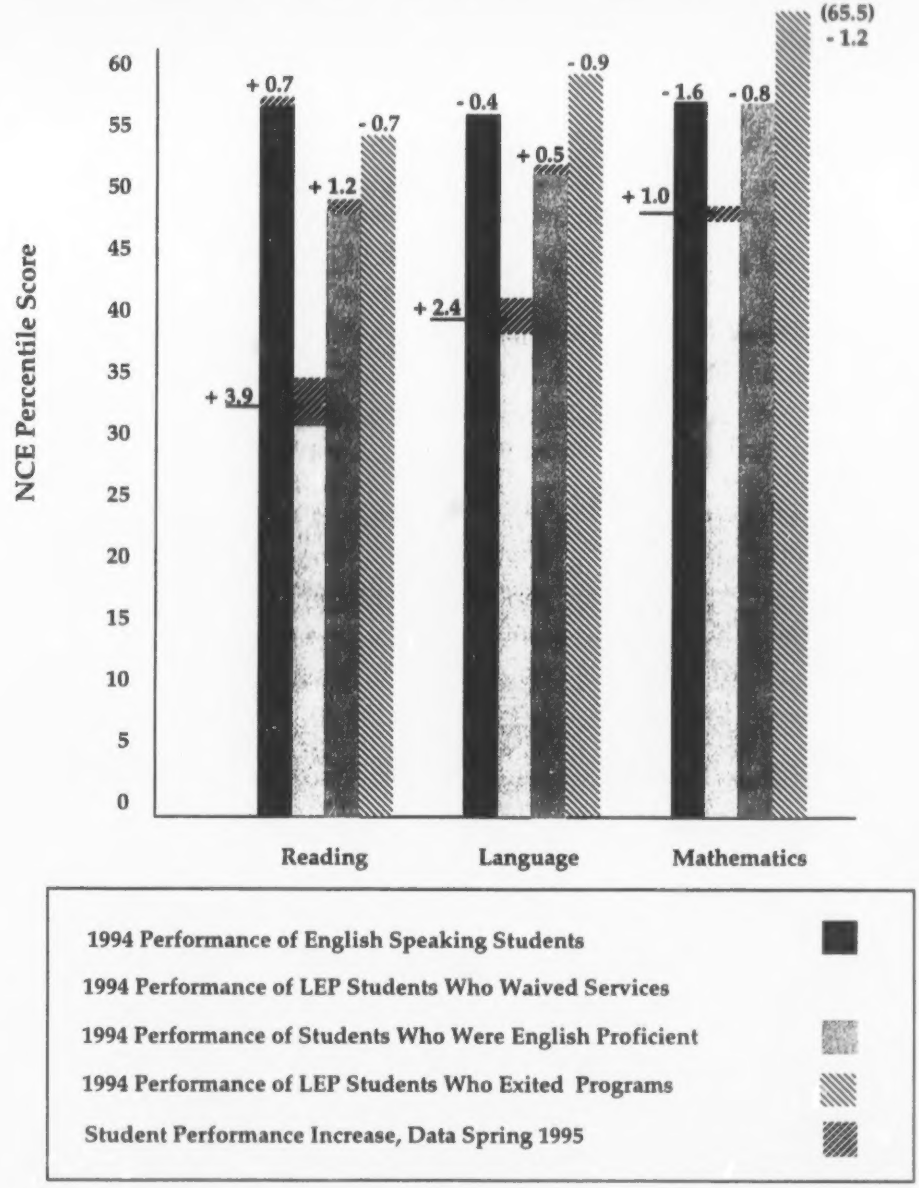
In summary, students in programs for LEP students increased in their NCE scores compared to a national sample. Except for student mathematics growth from 1994 to 1995, the gains appear to be similar across years and subject areas. Average growth gains in a normative context can be expected to be around zero, because an individual student's performance is represented in relation to other students. In other words, on average, a seventh-grade student who performs at the fiftieth percentile compared to other seventh graders could be expected to perform at the fiftieth percentile compared to other eighth graders one year later. This would represent a normative change of 0 NCE points, and average growth for students moving from the seventh to the eighth grade.

Consequently, students in programs for LEP students who are making yearly NCE growth gains of between 4 and 5 percentile points are making growth above and beyond what might be considered average growth. If students continued to make this kind of growth from year to year, they would quickly be at the fiftieth percentile. However, growth increases are not linear. Earlier in skill development, rapid growth is more likely than it is later in skill development, when growth indicators are usually less dramatic. This means that when students are provided with effective reading instruction they can be expected to make faster reading progress early in the reading acquisition phases. Given the same degree of effective reading instruction, growth rates level off as students begin to develop greater reading proficiency, and progress may be demonstrated in ways that are more subtle and difficult to observe.

Growth among Different Groups of Students

What is not clear from Figures 1 and 2 is how the growth of students in programs for LEP students compares to the growth of other students in the dis-

Figure 3
CAT Achievement Data for Students in Programs for LEP Students by Language and Program Status



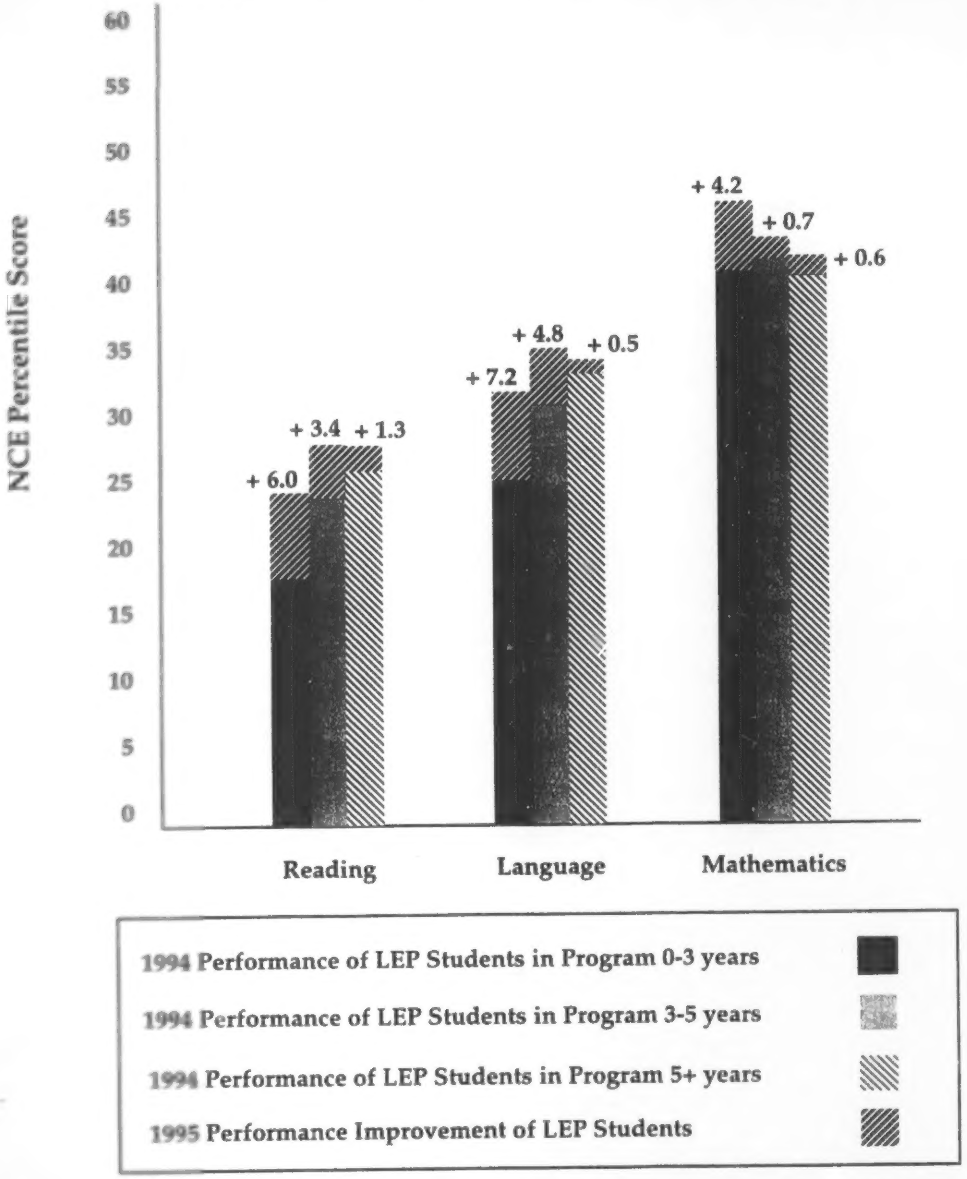
trict. Figure 3 shows the growth rates from 1994 to 1995 of four groups of students. A comparison of these rates with the rates in Figures 1 and 2 can point to important factors regarding the effectiveness of programs for LEP students in the Seattle School District.

One of the groups represents the performance of monolingual English-speaking students (n = 36,809). The three other groups are students for whom English is not their primary language, but who are not in programs for LEP students. The first of these groups were students eligible for programs for LEP students but whose parents declined services (n = 773). The second were students who had a non-English native language but who did not qualify for programs for LEP students because their test scores reflected proficiency in English (n = 799). A final group was made up of students who were in programs for LEP students and exited from these programs, either because they scored above the thirty-fifth percentile on the CAT, or because they were successful in the trial procedure (described above) (n = 799).

The stability of scores on the CAT for native English-speaking students is evident. In all three subject areas, performance is at or near the fifty-fifth percentile, and in two of three subjects, the change from one year to the next is less than 1 percentile point. One of the most interesting comparisons is between native English-speaking students and students who had exited from programs for LEP students, both in terms of the differences between these groups at the end of each year, and also in their change in performance from one year to the next. In two of three subjects, students who had successfully exited programs for LEP students scored higher overall than did native English-speaking students. In reading, the one subject in which students who had exited from programs for LEP students performed lower than native English-speaking students, their performance was still at the fiftieth percentile. These data strongly suggest that students who exit programs for LEP students have attained academic skills that are very similar to those of native English-speaking students.

It is also interesting to look at the performance of students with a native language other than English, but whose parents declined programs for LEP students and chose instead to have their children instructed full-time in the general education classroom. In all three subject areas—reading, language, and mathematics—these students had the lowest percentile scores of the four student groups, but made the greatest gains from 1994 to 1995. However, their performance increases from 1994 to 1995 were less than the increases that occurred for students who were in programs for LEP students from 1991 to 1992 or from 1994 to 1995 (see Figure 2). The increases for students in programs for LEP students were 5.8, 5.75, and 4.5 NCE points in reading, language, and mathematics respectively, from 1991 to 1992. The corresponding 1994 to 1995 gains were 4.3, 5.3, and 2.6 NCE points. For students who waived programs for LEP students, the gains in reading, language, and mathematics were 3.9, 2.4, and 1.0 NCE points respectively. In other words, it appears that programs for LEP students are effective in helping these students acquire English academic skills. Students who are eligible for those services and waive them may make less academic growth than they might otherwise.

Figure 4
CAT Achievement Data for Students in Programs for LEP Students by Length of Program Participation



However, these comparisons must be made very cautiously for at least two important reasons. First, students whose parents waive programs for LEP students may represent a very different group of students than students whose parents choose to have their children in programs for LEP students. Second, the groups of students appear to be slightly different in the three subject areas in the first year of the comparison scores: students whose parents waived programs for LEP students have somewhat higher scores than students in programs for LEP students. In terms of firm conclusions, the more different these groups are at the outset of the comparison, the more difficult it is to draw conclusions about program effectiveness. The data and comparisons do provide some evidence, however, that programs for LEP students are more effective in helping students acquire English academic skills more quickly than they would following other options.

Performance and Duration in Program

One of the tenets of programs for LEP students is that they should help students develop the proficiency they need to be successful in English language classrooms. The logic is quite straightforward. Students who have difficulty with English may need special instructional support in order to learn English and to master the academic content necessary to meet grade level expectations. Their growth in English and content material will increase more rapidly the sooner they can function independently in English language classrooms. Thus, most programs for LEP students are designed to last three to four years.

Figure 4 shows the performance of students in programs for LEP students in relation to the length of time students have been in these programs. As expected, students who have been in programs for LEP students fewer than three years score lower overall than do students who have been in programs for longer periods of time, except in mathematics, where the performance of all three groups is roughly equal. Students who have been in programs for LEP students 0 to 3 years, however, made larger gains than any other group from one year to the next. This increase is in line with some of the previous findings described above, in which the performance of students who had the lowest actual scores frequently made the largest one-year increases in performance.

The second highest rate of growth occurred for those who had been in programs for LEP students for 3 to 5 years. The growth these students made was particularly apparent in reading and language. For students in programs for LEP students for more than 5 years, the amount of growth dropped off appreciably. These students made gains that were about 1 percentile point above average in reading, and less than 1 percentile point in language.

It is important to consider what the rate of growth means over time for students who have been in programs for LEP students for more than 5 years. Given their level of performance—around the twenty-fifth percentile in reading and around the thirty-second percentile in language—and low rate of growth, it may be that repeated enrollment in programs for LEP students is not likely to result in grade level performance (which in the district is around the fiftieth percentile) in a timely manner. The district should perhaps consider transitioning these students into full-time English language classrooms and providing more intensive academic support services than might typically be provided to native English-speaking students.

Academic Achievement by Grade

Data from the evaluation of New York City's bilingual education program indicated that the earlier students began their schooling in a special program for LEP students, the fewer years it took them to be transitioned into full-time English language classrooms. New York City uses two types of programs for their LEP students. Most students are in a program in which the bulk of their instruction in the first years of school is given in the student's native language. Other students are in a program that uses controlled English and a special curriculum aimed at achieving a rapid acquisition of English. Mujica (1995) reported exit data each year for three years for LEP students in these two programs from kindergarten through grade 9. Data for selected grades are reported in Table 2.

A consistent pattern was found in which the later LEP students entered either type of program the less likely they were to exit those programs within three years. For example, 51.5 percent of children who entered a primarily native language program in kindergarten made the transition into full-time English language classrooms within three years. In contrast, only 8.4 percent of students who entered a native language program in ninth grade made the transition into full-time English language classrooms within three years. The other clear pattern in Table 2 is that students in the controlled English programs made more rapid transitions into the regular classroom than did students who were in primarily native language classrooms. This was true at each grade level.

Achievement data from the Seattle School District may help explain the longer transition times for students who entered programs for LEP students in the later grades. Figures 5, 6, and 7 show performance data for LEP students and other students in the district in 1991 and 1992 at elementary, middle, and high school levels. At all three levels, students in programs for LEP students scored higher in mathematics than in language, and higher in language than in reading. This pattern is generally true for other students in the district as well.

The normative gains for the native English-speaking students are relatively small from one year to the next, which is to be expected if students are keeping pace with their peers. The pattern is different for students in programs for

Table 2
The Percentage of LEP Students Who Exited Native Language and English as a Second Language Programs in New York City within Three Years in Relation to Grade Entrance

Native Language Program

Year of Entrance into Native Language Program	Percent Who Exit Program within Three Years
Kindergarten	51.5
Grade 1	38.5
Grade 2	22.1
Grade 3	21.9
Grade 6	6.9
Grade 9	8.4

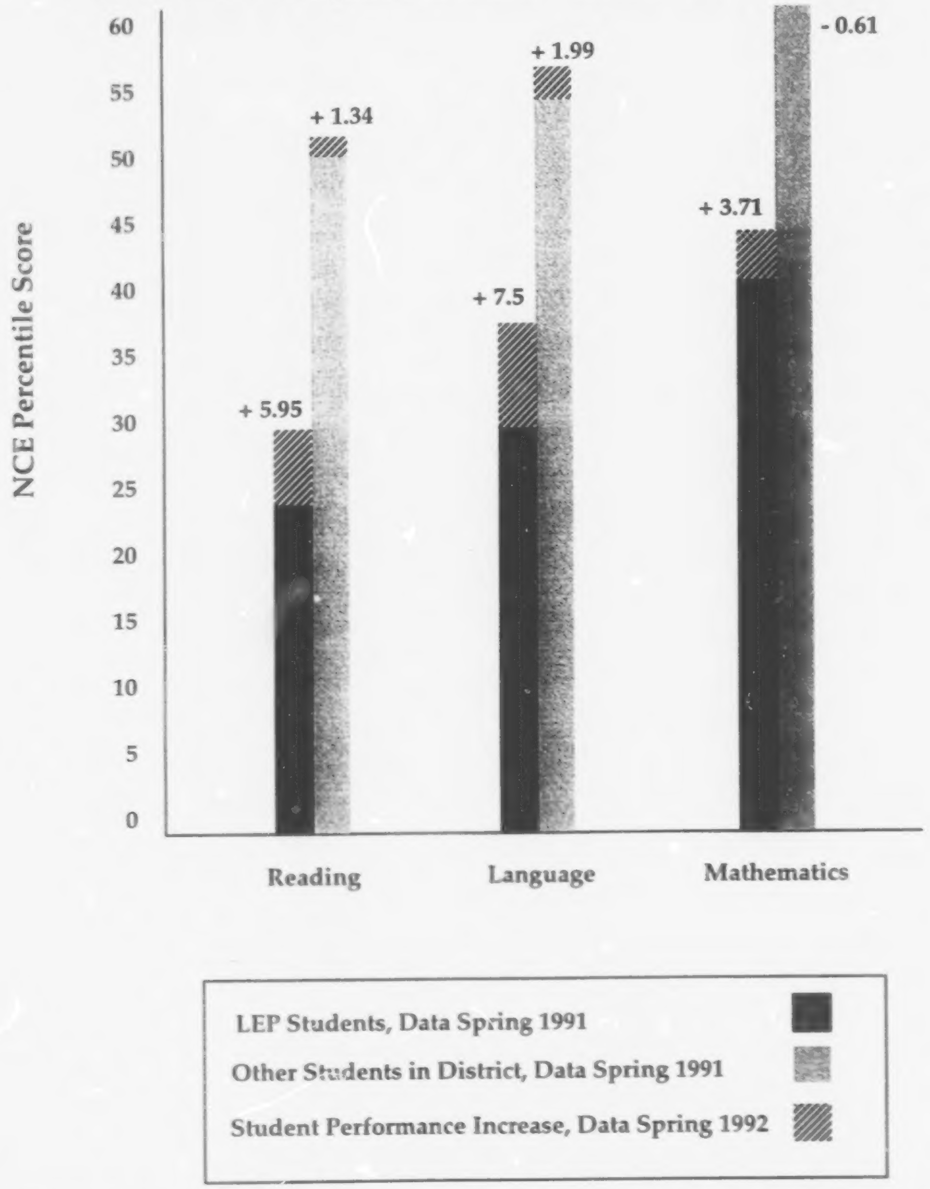
English-as-a-Second Language Program

Year of Entrance into ESL Program	Percent Who Exit Program within Three Years
Kindergarten	79.3
Grade 1	72.9
Grade 2	67.5
Grade 3	59.2
Grade 6	32.7
Grade 9	21.9

LEP students. In all three subject areas, students made progress above and beyond normative growth rates at the elementary, middle, and high school levels. The highest gains in reading and language, however, occurred in the elementary grades. *One of the reasons this is an important point is that it represents a different pattern than was displayed in previous figures, in which students with lower overall scores made the greatest one-year gains.* For elementary, middle, and high school students in the Seattle School District, the reverse was sometimes true. Students in programs for LEP students in elementary school had higher overall NCE scores in reading and language in 1991 than did those in middle school and in high school. Elementary students also made greater gains than did middle school and high school students in 1992. These data suggest that, at least in reading and language, students benefit from entering programs for LEP students early in their academic lives.

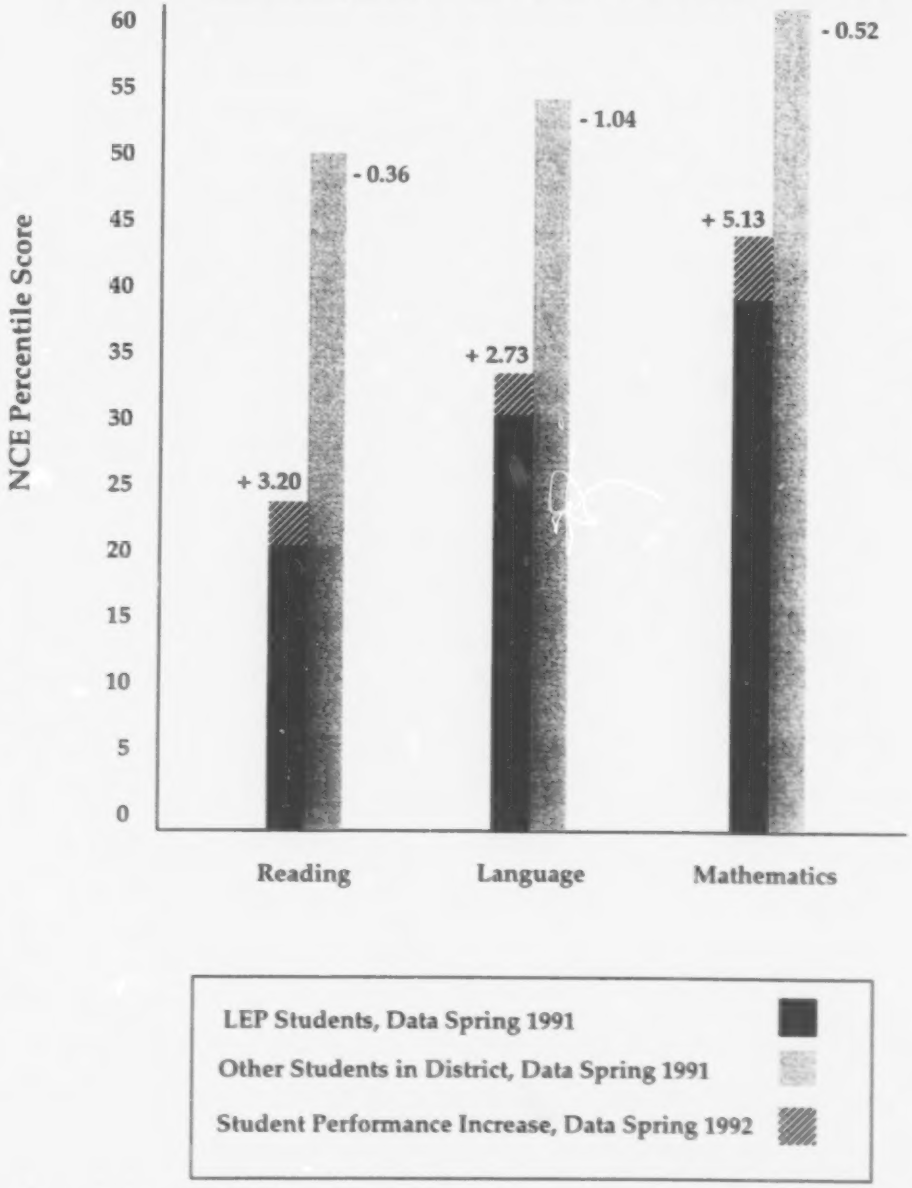
Figure 5

CAT Achievement Data for Elementary School Students in Programs for LEP Students Compared to Other Students in the District



A different pattern emerges in mathematics for the elementary, middle, and high school students in programs for LEP students. The level of student performance is about the same in 1991 (around the fortieth percentile), but the rate of growth is very different among the groups in 1992. Students in the elementary grades make the least amount of growth (3.71 NCE points), and students in high school make the most growth (8.32). This is difficult to interpret, but it may be that the discrepancy between

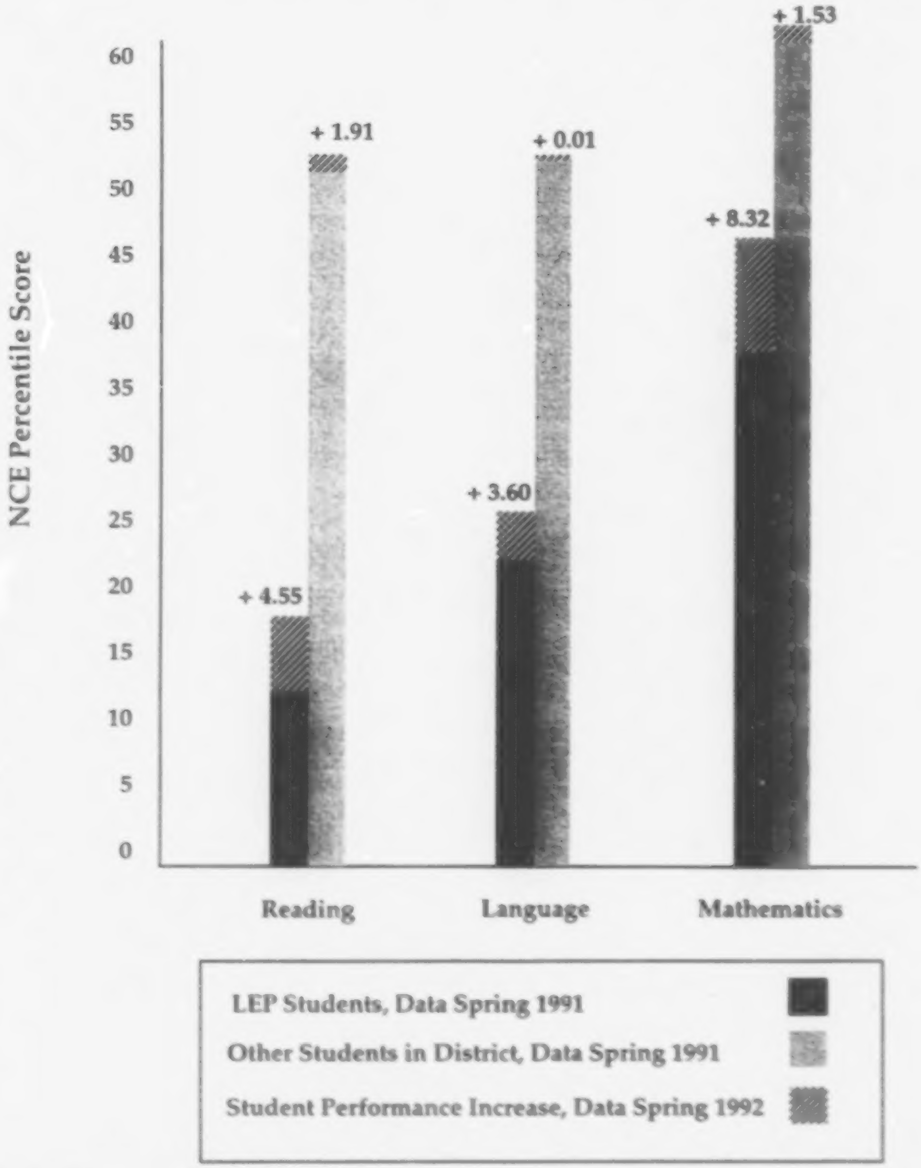
Figure 6
CAT Achievement Data for Middle School Students in Programs for LEP Students Compared to Other Students in the District



actual math knowledge and math performance (e.g., CAT scores) is great for older LEP students, especially in the early stages of learning English. The amount of English that LEP students learn in the initial years of programs for LEP students may allow them to better demonstrate the mathematics knowledge they do have, but it is insufficient for them to demonstrate the types of reading gains typical of students in the lower grades.

Figure 7

CAT Achievement Data for High School LEP Students Compared to Other Students in District



Student Dropout Rates

An important indication of a successful school program is the extent to which students stay in school. A great deal has been written about the high dropout rate of minority students. (Rumberger, 1983; 1995) The dropout rate for Hispanics, in particular, has remained alarmingly high for decades.

Overall, compared to African American students and white students, Hispanic students leave school earlier, are less likely to complete high school, and are less likely to enter college. (Alva and Padilla, 1995; Rumberger, 1983; 1995) The average school dropout rate for Hispanic students (49 percent) is much higher than the dropout rate for white students (23 percent) or African Americans (37 percent). (Gersten and Woodward, 1994; Rumberger, 1995) This trend has been in effect for many years. In 1988, approximately 31 percent of all 18- to 19-year-old Hispanics had left school without a diploma. This rate was more than 1.5 times the rate of black students (18 percent) and more than double the rate of white students (14.3 percent). Districts with a majority of Hispanic students report dropout rates as high as 50 percent, and occasionally dropout rates of over 70 percent are reported in major urban areas. (Arias, 1986; Casas, Furling, Solberg, and Carranza, 1990)

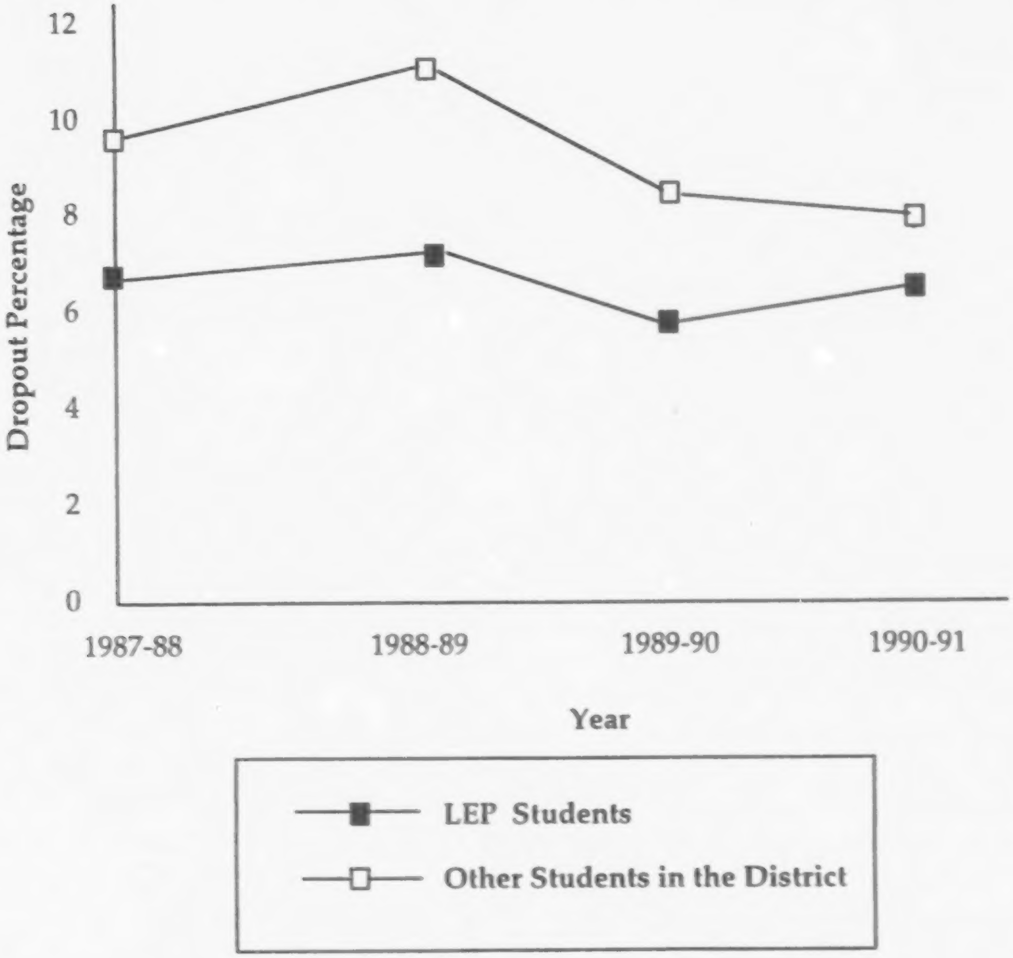
Even when controlling for possible mediating variables, like socioeconomic status, Rumberger (1983) estimated that Hispanic students drop out of school at a rate at least 1.5 times greater than their white counterparts. Hispanic students tend to report reasons similar to those of other students for dropping out of school, but they report them more frequently.

Asian American students typically do not have dropout rates that are as high as other minority students. In a recent study of dropping out of middle school, Rumberger (1995) found that African American, Hispanic, and Native American eighth-grade students had significantly higher odds of dropping out of school than did other students. By far, Asian students had the lowest chance of dropping out of school. Rumberger states that this finding is consistent with virtually all previous research and statistical reports on the subject.

Rumberger identified two process variables that mediated the effects of ethnicity and race in predicting middle school dropout rates: the number of times a student has been held back at least one grade in school, and the level of academic expectations students had for themselves. It is reasonable to expect that students in programs for LEP students might have higher degrees of these at-risk factors than other students. Their documented achievement difficulties (at least in English) are likely to influence the perceptions they have of their academic abilities, as well as the perceptions educators have, thereby increasing the likelihood of their being held back a grade at some time in their school lives.

Data for the Seattle Public Schools present a picture different than is typical of the dropout rates of many urban school districts and what might be expected given Rumberger's (1995) findings. Students in programs for LEP students actually have lower dropout rates than the district average. Data were collected on school dropout rates from 1987–1988 to 1990–1991. Each year, students enrolled in programs for LEP students had a lower dropout rate

Figure 8
Seattle School District Dropout Rates for Students in Programs for LEP Students and Other Students in the District



than the district average. The pattern is illustrated in Figure 8. Overall, the dropout rates are low for students in programs for LEP students as well as for students across the district. However, the dropout rate never rises above 8 percent for students in programs for LEP students and only once dips below 8 percent for other students in the district.

Graduation Rates

A related measure of program effectiveness is the extent to which student performance and learning over time culminate in the attainment of a high school diploma. An examination of the number of students who graduate on or before their expected graduation date reveals that those students who have successfully completed programs for LEP students seem to be doing very well compared to other students in the district. However, for students still enrolled in programs for LEP students in high school, graduation prospects are considerably less than the district average.

Overall, district graduation rates are considerably above the graduation rates of students enrolled in programs for LEP students. For example, for all students who had an expected graduation date of 1990–1991, 79 percent (n = 1,954) actually graduated. For students enrolled in programs for LEP students, the rate for the same year was 62 percent (n = 168). For 1991–1992, the graduation rate was 73.5 percent for the district (n = 1849) and 45.7 percent (n = 213) for students in programs for LEP students.

A very different perspective emerges, however, when the graduation rates for students who successfully exited from programs for LEP students are considered. For example, of the students who had successfully exited from programs for LEP students and were scheduled to graduate in 1993, 81 percent actually graduated. This figure compares favorably to the yearly district averages.

The data suggest that for LEP students, an important factor of overall school success is successful completion of the special English language programs. District data from 1991 and 1992 indicated that students who had not yet exited from programs for LEP students had graduation rates that were noticeably lower than the district as a whole. However, these data should be interpreted cautiously because of other factors associated with students who are enrolled in programs for LEP students in high school, including recent immigration to the United States, frequently interrupted patterns of school attendance, and overall low levels of academic achievement. The fact that students who complete programs for LEP students and exit them, having gained a knowledge of English necessary to perform successfully in the mainstream classrooms, are graduating at high rates strongly indicates that the Seattle programs for LEP students are amply meeting the challenge of preparing students for successful academic experiences and high school graduation.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROGRAMS FOR LIMITED-ENGLISH STUDENTS

The Puget Sound Educational Service District (Litzenberger and Sanders, 1995) administered a survey to students, parents, and staff to gather information about their perceptions of the programs for LEP students.

Student Survey

Of students in programs for LEP students, 1,523 (chosen at random) of 4,960 (31 percent) were administered the survey in English, with at least 35 students represented from each grade. All language groups were represented. The surveys were administered at school with assistance provided by the classroom teacher, if necessary.

One series of questions asked students about their perceptions of the effectiveness of the programs and practices at their school. Overall, students were quite positive about the programs. For example, 87 percent indicated that their teachers were helping them to learn English, and 93 percent of the students said that teachers provided help and assistance when needed. Students were not as sure that the school work was at the right level for them: 64 percent of them reported that school work was at the correct level; 25 percent, too difficult; and 22 percent, boring.

Students also had a favorable attitude about the school climate: 77 percent indicated that they enjoyed coming to school, 75 percent said that school rules were clear, and 92 percent said that there were fun things to do at school. On the other hand, 40 percent of students said that racial name-calling goes on at their school.

Parent Survey

All parents who had a child in a program for LEP students were mailed a survey about the LEP programs. Return rates varied, from a low of 17 percent for parents whose first language was Russian to 68 percent for parents whose first language was Vietnamese. Parents were asked for their perceptions of the effectiveness of the programs for LEP students. Seventy-two percent had a child attending a school with a program for LEP students, and 28 percent had a child receiving tutorial help in the native language at a noncenter school. Overall, parents were very positive about the programs for LEP students: 95 percent of parents indicated that their child liked the teacher; 95 percent said the teacher was helpful; and 92 percent said their child was making progress in school.

One of the questions on the survey addressed the procedures used by parents to select an appropriate program and school for their child. One of the stipulations in the settlement agreement between LEP students and the Seattle School District was that stronger efforts be made to communicate program options to parents. Seventy-three percent of parents responded on the survey that the Parent Information Center clearly explained the various options available to them in the school, as well as the program selection process.

Staff Survey

Surveys were returned from 34 teachers certified to work with LEP students, 60 certified general education teachers, 2 classified bilingual staff, 2 administrators, and 2 who indicated their position was something else. Eighty-five of the respondents (87 percent) indicated that they worked at a school with a program for LEP students. Respondents agreed that there was good communication between staff certified to work with LEP students and other staff (93 percent), and they believed support was available from staff certified to work with LEP students when needed (93 percent agreement). Only 61 percent agreed, however, that concerns surrounding issues of programs for LEP students were heard by the district.

Sixty-five percent agreed that class size was appropriate for the placement of LEP students, and 85 percent agreed that new students should go to one of the five Bilingual Orientation Centers. Only 23 percent thought that new students should go into the general education classroom with ESL support. Overall, staff favored an expansion of the programs for LEP students, although this response was related to the type of program in which they worked. The staff indicated they would like to see an expansion of the number of Bilingual Orientation Center sites (65 percent agreement) and an increase in the number of schools with programs for LEP students (69 percent agreement). However, in relation to increasing the number of Bilingual Orientation Centers, 90 percent of teachers certified to work with LEP students thought this increase was appropriate, whereas only 52 percent of the general education teachers thought so.

SUMMARY

The following conclusions can be drawn regarding the programs for LEP students in the Seattle School District:

- Contrary to the received wisdom promoted by advocates for bilingual education programs, Seattle's implementation of an English immersion program with a minimum of native language support has resulted in impressive results for the district's 6,000 LEP students.
- Students enrolled in programs for LEP students are making significant achievement gains compared to the district average. These gains appear to be directly attributable to participation in these programs. Students make the most rapid gains when they participate in programs for LEP students for up to, but not beyond, five years. For students who have been in programs for LEP students longer than five years, the gains seem to diminish considerably.
- Students who have successfully exited from programs for LEP students are achieving at rates that are comparable to district averages. This find-

ing is true for all major subject areas, including reading, language, and mathematics.

- The dropout rate for students in programs for LEP students is considerably lower than district averages.
- The graduation rate for students *in* programs for LEP students is considerably lower than district averages. However, students who have successfully *exited* from programs for LEP students have high school graduation rates that are on a par with other students in the district.
- Overall, the perception of students, parents, and staff is that the programs for LEP students have had a positive influence on the educational experiences of LEP students.

Therefore, if the special features of the Seattle program for LEP students were utilized by other school districts across the country, one could reasonably expect similarly successful results.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

SCOTT K. BAKER, Ph.D., works as a research associate at the University of Oregon, exploring issues related to alternative assessment practices with language minority students, early reading and vocabulary growth, and techniques for translating research findings into classroom practice. Dr. Baker is also currently involved in a project funded by the U.S. Department of Education to synthesize the research on effective instructional practices for language minority students with special needs.

BARRY R. CHISWICK, Ph.D., Columbia University, is Research Professor and Head of the Department of Economics at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He has gained an international reputation for his pioneering research on the economics of immigration, racial and ethnic minorities, and language. He is a former Senior Staff Economist of the Council of Economic Advisors, has testified before Congress, and is frequently interviewed by the print and electronic media.

PAUL W. MILLER, Ph.D., Australian National University, is an Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Economics at the University of Australia, Perth; he has also held teaching and research posts in Canada and in the UK. His research interests include the economics of discrimination, trade unions, and immigrant adjustment.

ROSALIE PEDALINO PORTER, Ed.D., is chairman of the Board and acting director of The READ Institute. For ten years she was director of Bilingual and English as a Second Language Programs in the Newton, Massachusetts, Public Schools. She has lectured widely on the subject of education policy for language minority children in the United States, Europe, and Asia.

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